Tamil TIMES

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"I do not agree with a word of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it."

– Voltaire

Tragedy of a Trapped People

The Agony of War

- *Peace Process on the Verge of Collapse*
- **'On the Doorstep of Jaffna' – Claims Army**
- *Role of Media in a Multi-Ethnic Society*
- **Tigers Wipe Out Army Camp**
- ***'Apex Assembly' Mooted***
- **Hindu Temple Bombed**
- *Politics of Unholy Alliances*
- **'Black Cats' on the Prowl**
- *'Thondaman Bashing' and 'Sinhala Mathematics'*
- **Protest Against Attacks on Places of Worship**
- **Columnist Faces Rs.100 Million Claim from Former President**

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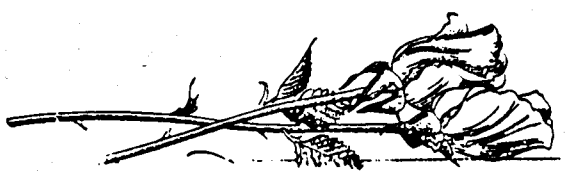

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TRAGEDY OF A TRAPPED PEOPLE

At the start of the third year of the latest 'Eelam War II', the daily death toll among the combatants and the civilian population has reached new heights. Since the war broke out in June 1990, on the government side, it is learnt that at least 1500 service personnel have been killed and over 6900 maimed or injured. One of the Tiger leaders, Yogaratnam Yogi, recently revealed that since 1982 a total of 4328 LTTE cadres have been killed of whom 2501 killed since June 1990. The death toll since June 1990 among the civilian non-combatant population of the north-east runs into several thousands. The scale of destruction and devastation brought about by the latest war has to be seen to be believed. Hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced and forced to live in makeshift refugee camps.

By any standards, the ongoing military offensive undertaken by the Sri Lankan security forces in the north of the country is unprecedented in its scope, scale and its consequences. Tens of thousands of troops have been engaged in a sustained campaign of continuing military operations accompanied by incessant and indiscriminate aerial bombardment and firing of rockets and shells from land based army camps and from naval gunboats. Hundreds of civilians have been killed in these indiscriminate attacks. Even places of worship and refugee camps have not been spared. The bombing on 31 May of the Sri Durga Devi Devasthanam at Tellipalai which housed a Children's Home and where over 2500 displaced civilians had gathered for safety is a typical example of the sheer senselessness and brutality of these attacks.

While President Premadasa is continually indulging in the rhetoric of a peaceful settlement through consultation, compromise and consensus, the carnage and destruction continues unabated. Recently the acting Minister for Defence, Mr. John Amaratunga, stated, 'The government has worked out its solution to the vexed North-East problem. It has to be worked out in two stages. The government would use maximum force for the annihilation of the Tiger strength and that would constitute the first phase. After completely wiping out the menace in that manner, the government would try to seek a political solution to the problem. The total annihilation of the Tiger power is an essential prerequisite for this exercise'. What in fact appears to be taking place is not only a war to wipe out the so-called Tiger menace, but also a war to wipe out the lives and homes of the entire civilian population.

There was a time when, in addition to the resident foreign reporters in Colombo, correspondents from various capitals would fly into the island whenever major incidents occurred or military operations were undertaken. Except for the occasional report broadcast over the World Service of the BBC, that too only when major massacres occur, the ongoing war in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka and the sustained massive military offensive by the security forces have received little or no international attention.

There was a time when any sustained onslaught by the Sri Lankan security forces in the Tamil areas leading to considerable civilian casualties would have sparked off widespread protests in Tamil Nadu and expressions of concern by New Delhi. But this time round, there is hardly any protests or expressions of concern from there either.

With the warring parties deriving a kind of morbid delight reflected in their extravagant claims and counter-claims of having killed so many from the other side, the tragedy of a people trapped in a never-ending war of attrition is continuing to be enacted with absolutely no sign of any meaningful step being mooted to stop the war and end the civilian suffering either from inside the country or outside.

Northern Offensive

'On the Doorstep of Jaffna', Army Claims

from Rita Sebastian in Colombo

The battle between the Tigers and government forces has, in the last two years, since fresh hostilities broke out between the two sides, fallen into a kind of regular pattern.

Operations in the northeast of the island have been characterised by intermittent lulls giving rise to speculation that the lull may have been at the insistence of the political leadership which continues to harbour hopes of a dialogue with the Tigers to resolve the conflict.

When Operation Balawegaya II, was launched on June 28, there was no reason to anticipate any radical departure from this basic political strategy.

However, there is one significant difference this time round, in that the military has decided to hold onto territory captured. Until now it was seek, destroy and withdraw. It is this fact combined with the successes the military has achieved so far, in terms of area captured from the Tigers, that gives the battle scenario a different perspective.

The military top brass feel that losing life and limb and having nothing to show for it has been bad for army morale. Besides, as a top army official put it by holding onto territory you minimise the casualties on both sides.

Regaining the area between the beachhead at northern Vettilaikerni and the Elephant Pass Camp, from where the forces withdrew after breaking the siege on the Elephant Pass Camp last July has led to heavy casualties on both sides.

The main objective of Balawegaya II, according to military officials was to effectively seal off the land route to, and from the peninsula that the Tigers were using. And that they have done in a fortnight of fierce fighting. Troops now, according to military sources, encircle a quarter of the peninsula from Kayts to Manaditivu, to Pooneryn, to Elephant Pass and Vettilaikerni. As the military top brass would like to describe it they are poised on the very doorstep of Jaffna.

The capture of Iyakatchi from the Tigers was the final phase of sealing off the land border to the peninsula. Up to now if one were to go by the casualty figures given by the military, over 300 Tigers and around 60 soldiers have been killed in operation Balawegaya II. The reasoning behind the unbelievably high casualty figure among the Tigers is that most of them were killed when artillery and airstrikes destroyed commando vehicles and trucks ferrying Tiger reinforcements to the battle site.

Among the around 50 Tiger bodies recovered up to now, some of them were said to be headless. The military explanation is that the heads had been severed to prevent identification.

For the Tigers the war took a dramatic turn when they claimed that they shot down the Chinese built 4-engined Y8 aircraft carrying besides 6 officers and 13 other ranks, explosives ammunition, and weapons to the northern airbase at Pallaly.

The Joint Operations Command was quick to deny the aircraft had been shot down pointing to the fact that the aircraft was flying at 6,000 feet, at which height the Tigers did not have the capability of shooting it down. The JOC also denied the aircraft was rolling out barrel bombs and was a victim of a barrel bomb which was said to have exploded in mid-air.

But the recovery of 10 bodies from the vicinity of the crash with the forces having captured Iyakatchi, changes the picture completely. An explosion on board or the aircraft being shot down would have resulted in the bodies having been burnt beyond recognition according to military sources.

Despite the severe constraints of both men and military hardware, the military now seems determined to go all out to capture Jaffna.

Continued on page 15

Tigers Wipe Out Army Camp 46 Soldiers Killed

Tamil Tigers cadres wiped out an army camp in the Anuradhapura District killing at least 46 soldiers and wounding 11 others, on 13 July.

Army sources said the attackers over-ran Katupotha army detachment about several miles away from the Thantirimale Viharaya after two hours of fierce fighting during the early hours on 13 July.

After wiping out the whole army unit, Tigers set fire to the camp, two Unicorn armoured cars, a bulldozer and other items before withdrawing back to the Wilpattu jungles with a massive haul of weapons and ammunition.

One Tiger body was recovered by the army reinforcements which moved into the area to conduct a hunt for the attackers, sources said. The General Officer Commanding troops in the North, Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa was among senior officers who visited the site to inspect the damage and take precautions against further attacks.

Victims' bodies some charred beyond recognition, were removed later in the afternoon to Anuradhapura to be sent to their families. The dead included lieutenant Pethiyagoda and two or three non-commissioned officers.

Reliable sources said some of the soldiers who were in the detachment had escaped by hiding in the jungles. Sources put the number of Tigers who took part in the Katupotha attack close to 200 and the attack must have been led by Tiger commandos.

The death and destruction at Katupotha could be the worst since the losses suffered when the Tigers destroyed the Kokkavil and Mankulam detachments and ambushed a sea-borne army commando unit at Kattaparichan, Muttur in the initial stages of the Eelam war two.

Joint Operations Command (JOC) spokesman Colonel Sarath Moonesinghe put the number of dead at 46 killed in the attack. Katupotha detachment was located about 12 miles north west of Thantirimale and south west of Chettikulam on the Vavuniya-Mannar road.

The attacked detachment was manned by the volunteer Sinha Regiment.

In the last ten days, upto 100 army and air force personnel had been killed in the North-East region according to military sources.

An 'Apex Assembly' for North and East Mooted

A paper circulated among members of the Parliamentary Select Committee on ethnic affairs suggests, as an alternative to the merger of the northern and easten provinces, two separate Provincial Councils for the two provinces and an 'Apex Assembly' elected by members of the two Provincial Councils.

The paper, described as a possible starting point towards a settlement, is presumably authored by the Chairman of the Select Committee, Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe, and is said to have the backing of President Premadasa. The following are some excerpts from the document:

Two Councils

The focus of the deliberations should consistently also be on the overarching prerequisite of attaining peace in the region and simultaneously integrating the nation with the objective of developing it as a harmonious multi ethnic and multi religious model. Bearing in mind the above perspective, considerations may be given on electing two separate Councils, one for the Northern Province and another for the Eastern Province. The demographic composition of the two provinces are:-

Northern Province almost 98 percent Tamils and in the Eastern Province, almost 43 percent Tamils, 33 percent Muslims, 21 percent Sinhalese and others 2 percent.

Apex Assembly

The two councils would after election of members to the respective Councils, have a joint meeting of the elected members in order to elect an Apex Assembly from amongst them, to plan common policies for both Councils, and co-ordinate programmes relevant to the two Councils etc. The administration of all matters pertaining to the Northern Province should be attended by the Northern Council while the administration of all matters pertaining to the Eastern Province should be performed by the Eastern Council. Each Council will apply its own provincial ethnic ratio for relevant work within its own provincial administration. The proposal also envisages more meaningful devolution of power and the rectification of all grievances projected by the communities.

Implementing Institutions

A separate institution should be established to supervise the immediate implementation, smooth functioning and monitoring of all devolved powers. The composition of the institution could be discussed by the Select Committee.

National Chamber

A National Chamber should be established, consisting of the Chief Ministers to meet monthly with the President, Cabinet Ministers, and representatives of opposition parties in Parliament. The main functions of the Chamber would be to establish harmony and co-ordination between the Centre and the Peripheral Units with a view to integrating the Nation more firmly.

Task of Select Committee

The Select Committee may discuss the proposed model framework and improve, modify, or recommend structural alterations. In the alternative the Committee could propose other political models for deliberations.

The Select Committee may, thereafter, if it deems necessary, appoint a Sub Committee to study the various proposals placed before the Select Committee by the Members. The Sub Committee could examine them and recommend the adoption of any one proposal in its original or modified form, or a synthesized model or a completely new one.

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Four Point Formula For Ethnic Peace

Seven Tamil parties (TULF, EPRLF, EROS, PLOTE, TELO, ENDLF, Tamil Congress) and the Ceylon Workers Congress led by Cabinet Minister S. Thondaman have submitted the following four point formula to the Parliamentary Select Committee as a basis for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic issue:

1. Permanent merger of the North and Eastern Provinces;
2. Meaningful devolution that signifies autonomy;
3. Institutional arrangements to safeguard the rights of the Muslims in the North and East; and
4. Necessary arrangements to ensure that the Sinhala minority in the North and East enjoy the same rights as the minorities in Sinhala majority provinces.

Hindu Temple With Refugees Bombed

The Hindu Temple, Sri Durga Devi Devasthanam at Tellipalai in the Jaffna peninsula, where over a hundred refugee families had sought shelter, was the object of aerial bombardment of the Sri Lankan Air Force on 31 May.

The head of the temple, Thangammah Appakuddi has in a letter to the London-based Standing Committee of the Tamil Speaking People (SCOT), a charitable organisation which has been providing relief assistance, informed that six persons were killed, 25 more were seriously injured and 100 more received minor injuries, and the temple was badly damaged in four successive bomb attacks.

In her report, Thangammah Appakuddi states that the attacks on the temple consisted of a grenade thrown from the helicopter on a parked Hospital Ambulance donated by the UNHCR, for bombings by bomber aircraft, and one barrel bomb from an Avro aircraft.

The temple runs a Childrens' Home consisting of 67 children, cares for six elderly persons and the home has a resident staff of six persons. The temple has been providing shelter for an additional 116 displaced families since June 1990. In addition to these persons, on the day of the attack as many as about 2500 persons had gone to the temple premises for safety, and most of these persons were displaced from their homes as a result of bombing operations.

On the instructions of the ICRC and SLRC, the temple had been flying on the top of the temple tower and at three other prominent places the flag internationally specified to be flown on top of religious buildings.

The people were completely taken unawares by the bombing – three died on the spot and three more died on admission to the hospital; 25 were seriously injured; over a hundred received minor injuries. Many parts of the temple building were destroyed. The attack had been unprovoked and intentionally destructive.

Parliamentary Select Committee

Peace Process on the Verge of Collapse

from Rita Sebastian in Colombo

The Parliamentary Select Committee, mandated to find a consensus solution to the island's ethnic question seems to be tottering on the verge of collapse in view of the inflexible positions adopted by political parties on opposite sides of the ethnic divide.

In an unusually strongly worded submission, presented to the Select Committee, the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) led by Minister of Tourism and Rural Industrial Development, S. Thondaman, tore into the concept paper presented by Chairman of the Select Committee, Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Mangala Moonesinghe. It described the concept paper as 'absolutely tragic'.

In the opening paragraph Mr. Thondaman declared that he was forced to state that the CWC rejects the formulations in the concept paper.

'I have to bitterly complain that the issues concerning the Tamils and the proposals presented by the CWC and the Tamil parties to resolve them, had made no impact on the Select Committee.

Mr. Thondaman goes on to speak with undisguised bitterness about the fact that the concepts bear no relation to the ethnic strife and political realities, and can have no impact on the psychology of an aggrieved Tamil people.

He also goes on to speak darkly of the spectre of disintegration that haunts the political horizon, and says that a bi-furcation of the northeast provinces is tantamount to a bifurcation of the country.

The Select Committee on which much hope was pinned in recent months, therefore stands in imminent danger of collapsing, leaving a trail of bitterness and frustrated hopes.

It remains to be seen what use the LTTE will make of this new turn in the relations between the two major communities in the country. The possible collapse of the Select Committee came in the very week of the army's fresh offensive against the LTTE militants in the island's northeast provinces.

It is possible that the LTTE will utilise this unhappy conjunction of events, to reinforce the point that they have always made, that they cannot get justice without resorting to the gun.

Any collapse of the Select Committee cannot but have an adverse impact on the increasingly precarious relations between the two communities.

Observers tend to see Thondaman's statement as an expression of despair by a seasoned politician, who has in recent months tended to play the role of peacemaker between the north and the south, for which he has come in for considerable criticism from right-wing Sinhala groups. However he has persevered undaunted.

But the acriminious tone of his submissions to the Select Committee on June 28, would indicate that the peace-maker is despairing of his role.

The crunch issue continues to be the north-east merger. Neither side seems to be in a mood to show flexibility. With rumours of elections in the air the overriding electoral realities will make political accommodation less and less feasible.

Meanwhile the war in the north continues and there are chauvinists in the south who think a military solution must precede the political solution.

Thondaman has warned the Select Committee of what he thinks is an illusion. He says that the Select Committee must not harbour the illusion that a devolution package can be thrust on the Tamils in the wake of a military solution.

He quotes Major Depindersingh: 'No insurgency has, or can be settled militarily. So a political solution has to be found'.

However, such words of warning are unlikely to be heeded in the present mood of political intransigence.

Some even express the view that this political stalemate, unless halted, could lead to fresh confrontation from which only chauvinists from both sides can in the end benefit.

Yet it would appear that the first major exercise in ethnic fence-mending since the controversial Indo-Lanka Accord, has collapsed.

Internal mediation by Thondaman seems to go the same way as external mediation and it looks as if it is beyond the resources of this beleaguered island nation to devise mechanisms of racial reconciliation.

Continued from page 5

Implementation

If the Parliamentary Select Committee arrives at a consensual decision on an acceptable political package, then the stage of implementing the decisions should be examined and worked out in detail.

Phase II could consist of appointing an Interim Administration for the North and the Eastern Provinces. The political parties both within and outside Parliament could appoint members to execute the civil administration in the North and East, and to perform the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. The appointed members of the Interim Administration could oversee the work in different areas of the region, which will bring them in close touch with the people. The political package leading to a step by step peace process may totally transform the charged atmosphere and generate much development assistance from both bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. The Appointed Members will have to be provided with the necessary resources and equipment to perform their functions. Their presence and mobility in the areas is bound to create a sense of security in the minds of the villagers and may help to bring about a gradual peace in the region.

The Interim Administration should be replaced by democratically elected bodies as soon as it is physically possible to do so.

The Parliamentary Select Committee is playing an important role in that all parties in Parliament are deliberating with a sense of responsibility and commitment to secure a permanent peace in the country. Therefore if an Interim Administration is established, the Committee may consider the possibility of structuring itself to be a monitoring and mediating body.

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Jaffna Bishop Felicitated

'Bishop Deogupillai is being held in high esteem by the Bishops of Shri Lanka and by the Catholics of this country. The Roman Catholic Bishops' Association turn to him for advice and for the interpretation of Canon laws. His theological and canonical explanations are taken as final and conclusive. This attribute has earned for him the epithet 'Attorney General'.

'The large gathering present here and the presence of all the Bishops in Shri Lanka on this platform to felicitate him on the occasion of his triple jubilee is a testimony to his popularity among his brothers. His prudent leadership and patient guidance had enabled the church to shoulder its responsibility smoothly and successfully', said Rt. Rev. Dr. Nicholas Marcus the Archbishop of Colombo.

He was speaking in Tamil as the chief guest at the triple jubilee celebration of the Jaffna Bishop Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai held in the Jaffna Cathedral grounds.

The colourful function was an epitome of the Jaffna Bishop's triple jubilee – the 25th year of his Episcopal consecration, the 50th year of his Sacerdotal ordination and the 75th year celebration of his birthday all coinciding in May 1992.

A special feature of the jubilee celebration was the presence of Hindu Swamy Sri La Sri Somasundara Pramachariyar, the Bishop of the Church of South India, Rt. Rev. Dr. D.J. Ambalavanar, the Bishops of Mannar, Batticaloa, Kurunegala, Kandy and Galle, the GA Jaffna, the Vice Chancellor of the Jaffna University and the Secretary General of the LTTE Mr. Yogaratnam Yogi on the same platform. Rev. Fr. S.A. Michael Swamy, Vicar General Jaffna presided.

Sri La Sri Somasundara Paramachariyar of Nallur Atheenam in felicitating the retiring Bishop said that the presence of other religious heads on the same platform signified religious tolerance and unity in our land. The retiring bishop was one who combined religion with the Tamil language. He had published several liturgical tracts and prayer manuals, theological glossaries and other treatises on Christian education in Tamil. He stood firm and straight when dangers approached us and he was a tower of strength to the Tamil nation.

Mr. K. Mannikavasagar, GA Jaffna said that Bishop Deogupillai was not only a chief pastor but also a Tamil scholar and educationist. He endeavoured to mould the personality of the student community through the Catholic schools.

Rt. Rev. Dr. D.J. Ambalavanar, Bishop of the Church of South India said that we must thank him for giving the opportunity to celebrate the three major events in his life in one function. The noteworthy feature of his life was that when the people were in danger he raised his voice to save them from peril. Through his devoted pastoral care and service he gave succour to the parched souls and made them bloom.

Mr. Yogaratnam Yogi, Secretary General of the LTTE said that the Tamil nation needed upright and courageous religious leaders like the retiring bishop. 'His timely pronouncements on the predicament of the Tamils opened the eyes of other nations to see the reasonableness of our demands.'

Rev. Fr. G.A. Francis Joseph, Rector, St. Patrick's College, Jaffna while releasing a special issue in memory of the Jaffna Bishop said that Bishop Deogupillai was one in whom virtue governs with a sceptre of knowledge and wisdom. His greatness lay not in being strong but in the right using of strength.

Mgr. Deogupillai in replying said that it was Lord's wish that he should be a priest. His mother had a dream when he was in her womb. She had been told that she would be blessed with a son and the child should be bequeathed to the church. So he owed his priesthood and bishophood to his loving mother.

God was with him and guided him all throughout his career. His selection to study theology in Rome was an unexpected one. It was God who gave him erudition, scholarship and perspicacity to shoulder the heavy responsibility of the church. It was again God's wish as it were that he was sent from Batticaloa to Jaffna to shepherd the flock. He was satisfied that he had played his part well to the liking of his Master.

Columnist Faces Rs.100 Million Claim From Former President

Sri Lanka's former President, Junius Richard Jayewardene recently sent a letter of demand for Rs. 100 million to Mr. Dayan Jayatillaka who is alleged to have written two articles under the pen-name Anuruddha Thilakasiri headlined 'The Fire This Time' and 'Hand-Bagging Press Freedom' in *The Sunday Observer* of May 10, 1992 and June 14, 1992.

Earlier Mr. Jayewardene had sent a letter of demand to the Lake House newspaper group for Rs. 390 million for the publication of the above two articles and several others.

It is learnt that following the publication of an unqualified apology to the former President in *The Sunday Observer* on 5 July stating that the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., *The Sunday Observer* and its editor 'unreservedly withdraw the false and defamatory statements. . .' Mr. Jayewardene has decided to accept it and not to proceed with legal action against the newspaper group and its editor.

However, in the letter sent to Mr. Jayatillaka, the former President has demanded through his attorney John Wilson that Mr. Jayatillaka 'immediately publish an unconditional withdrawal of the said statements and an unqualified apology'.

Following is the full text of the letter of demand: 'I write on the instructions of my client President J.R. Jayewardene of 'Braemar' 66 Ward Place, Colombo 7. You have written the above articles and have published or caused to be published in the above articles statements that are totally false, malicious and utterly defamatory and derogatory of my client. The above articles were written by you using the pen-name or nom-de-plume Anuruddha Thilakasiri. The said statements include the following false allegations that my client during his tenure as Prime Minister and President of Sri Lanka:-

1. 'rammed through his Constitution';
2. 'smashed the July '80 strike';
3. 'pulled off the Referendum';
4. 'intimidated judges';
5. 'had the resignations of judges of the Supreme Court in his pocket';
6. 'threatened to roll up the electoral map for 10 years';
7. 'instituted the P.T.A.';
8. 'allowed his goons to burn the Jaffna Library';
9. 'permitted Cyril Mathew to go on the rampage in July '83';
10. 'perpetrated a fraudulent Referendum of '82' etc.

Most of the statements relate to decisions of the Cabinet of the Government that functioned from 1977 to 1988. My client was the Head of that Government and the present President,

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Continued from page 7

His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa was the Prime Minister and the deputy Head during that period. The aforesaid false and malicious statements have caused irreparable damage to my client's reputation and high esteem and have been made with the objective of exposing my client to hatred, ridicule and contempt and are utterly inflammatory statements which also further violate the criminal Law.

I am instructed to demand that you immediately publish an unconditional withdrawal of the said statements and an unqualified public apology. In the event of non-compliance with my client's aforesaid request, my client will be compelled to institute action against you for damages, amounting to Rs. 100 Million (Rupees One Hundred Million) which my client will donate to charity.

If no reply is received from you within ten days from date hereof, you will be deemed to have accepted that you have written the aforesaid articles and that you have accepted the contents of this letter totally.'

Govt. Submits to IMF and WB on 'Tough Reforms'

A joint International Monetary Fund and World Bank team which left Colombo on 3 July after nearly a fortnight's discussions with senior government officials is reported to have drawn up a further package of tough economic reforms for Sri Lanka.

A senior government official while refusing to give details, said that a new reform package had been agreed upon with the visiting team prior to their departure.

Informed financial analysts said the visiting team had insisted on government curtailing this year's budget deficit to 8.8 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. GDP is the value of goods and services produced in a country during a particular year.

The deficit however, is said to have already overshot that mark by about Rs. 6000 million.

With further supplementary estimates being needed to be passed to meet urgent expenses, they said, the government was facing a severe predicament as any additional estimates would certainly add to the deficit.

The IMF and World Bank have also insisted on the country's 'Current Account' deficit be kept to 6.6 percent of the GPD and to check any further increase by devaluing the rupee as it would make the imports more costly, while helping exports.

In order to meet these targets, economic analysts said, there would be further increases in prices of goods and services.

Among other reforms agreed upon are to increase the rate of privatisation of state owned business ventures, commercialisation of state banks, introduction of Value Added Tax system by 1994, abolition of tax holidays and implementation of other Taxation Commission recommendations, tariffs to be brought down to three bands and a maximum of 35 percent from the current five bands and a maximum of 50 percent, removal of subsidy on wheat flour, conversion of railways into an authority to facilitate its eventual privatisation and probing the accounts of the Petroleum Corporation and end the government monopoly in the supply of fuel.

These sources said failure to implement many of these reforms could result in Sri Lanka not being given vital financial facilities of the two institutions, including the third tranche of the massive US $450 million Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility approved by the IMF on September 13, 1991. The second tranche worth about US $75 million is due in about six months.

Earlier last month, IMF Board of Directors approved the second tranche worth about the same amount as the next after delaying it for two months over Sri Lanka's failure to adhere to earlier agreed economic targets.

New Secretary-General for International Alert

Kumar Rupesinghe of Sri Lanka has been appointed as Secretary General of International Alert. He succeeds the late Martin Ennals, the founding Secretary General, whose work for International Alert and whose outstanding achievements in the field of human rights are well known.

Dr. Rupesinghe has served as Deputy Director and as Programme Director of the Ethnic Conflict Programme at the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo. He is currently Chair of the Human Rights Information and Documentation System, International (HURIDOCS); and Coordinator of the programme on Governance and Conflict Resolution of the United Nations University. During his ten years in Oslo, he has worked to establish conflict resolution as a crucial field for research and professional action, particularly within the non-Western world.

Dr. Rupesinghe has served as a member of the Board of International Alert from its inception in 1985 and has been actively involved with most of its programmes including Uganda, the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

He is currently Chair of the Commission on Internal Conflicts and their Resolution (ICON) of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA); Coordinator of the United Nations University Programme on Governance and Conflict Resolution; and Chair of the Human Rights Information and Documentation System, International (HURIDOCS).

International Alert is an independent, international NGO, established in 1985. The organisation is a registered charitable foundation in the UK and the Netherlands. It seeks to contribute to the resolution of internal conflict by promoting peace and conciliation through dialogue, and furthering the observance and enhancement of international humanitarian and human rights standards. International Alert has Category II Consultative Status with the UN Economic and Social Council.

'World Bank Conditions Destroy Health of Third World's Poor'

Structural adjustments insisted upon by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as conditions for development assistance have destroyed the health of the world's poor and the underprivileged, according to an internationally known medical man specialising on the rationalisation of the use of pharmaceutical drugs.

In a paper submitted to the recent Geneva meeting of the Health Action Information (HAI) Committee, Dr. K. Balasubramaniam, Pharmaceutical Adviser to International Organisation of Consumer Unions, Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. (IOCU-ROAP) Malaysia, has said that the groups worst affected were infants and young children.

He says, 'infants and

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young children continue to die in equal numbers in 1992 (Quarter of a million a week) as in 1982 (40,000 a day). Structural adjustments have denied these children the resources that should have gone into their welfare'.

Dr. Balasubramaniam says that availability of pharmaceutical drugs in Asia, as in other Third-World countries is far from satisfactory and adds that one of the prerequisites to make drugs available to the whole population in a country is the formulation and the implementation of an integrated national drug policy. However, no country in Asia has such an integrated national drug policy, he points out.

He has also observed that the Government of Sri Lanka faced with a financial crisis in 1971 introduced a trade policy – which he says, is a trade policy implemented by a government committed to social justice and equity – to meet the crisis. This policy became a model for all Third World countries but the government which came into power in 1977 reversed some of the components of this policy, in accordance with its promise of liberalisation of trade and many of the achievements of the early seventies were lost.

Bangladesh in 1982 introduced its national drug policy, and Malaysia in 1988 made drug registration compulsory. In 1988 the Philippines introduced Generics Act, in 1984 Indonesia brought in a Generic drugs programme for public sector.

But India giving in to pressure by vested interests did not implement the recommendations of Hathi Committee which paved the way for a national drug policy, he says.

He says that the United States is pressurising South Korea and Thailand, to revise their national legislation to offer patent protections to pharmaceutical products.

These five countries had the region's well-established and growing drug industries, he adds.

Dr. Balasubramaniam who was in Colombo early this month to take part in the Asia-Pacific Workshop for health officials noted that the present trend in all Asian countries is towards privatisation of health and pharmaceutical services.

He warned against allowing market foces to determine the prices of drugs and called for pricing policies based on social justice and equity.

Legal Aid for Detainees

Nearly 300 prisoners who had been languishing in various detention camps for more than three years will be provided with legal aid to challenge the validity of their detention, Human Rights Task Force Chairman J.F.A. Soza said.

Mr. Soza a former judge said all other avenues suggested by the HRTF had not been considered by the authorities due to various reasons. Thus the HRTF had decided to provide legal aid for detainees to file fundamental rights applications before the Supreme Court.

There could be many detainees in camps, without substantial grounds. Within six months the task force would help some 300 of these detainees to draft and file fundamental rights applications.

'Under this circumstance the detaining authorities will be compelled to produce the basis on which the suspects have been detained. The Supreme Court will decide on the legality of these detentions,' he said.

Mr Soza revealed that at least five lawyers had come forward voluntarily to appear for these detainees and the task force would advice them on how to proceed with these applications.

Mr. Soza had earlier advised the defence authorities to consider the release of detainees who were not a real danger to society. He had also suggested that hard-core subversives (suspects) be separated from other detainees.

Mr. Soza revealed the recent clashes at Boosa which resulted in one death and more than eighty injured might have started in the kitchen as complaints had been received regarding discrimination over meals.

Meanwhile the camp authorities in Boosa have said that the factional clash was between two groups – JVP suspects and hard-core criminals who posed off as JVPers but did not want to fall in line with JVP strategy.

Protest Against Attacks on Places of Worship

The much publicized recent offensive of the Army, Navy and the Air Force in the North-East has caused damage to Hindu temples and the killing and injuring of many innocent civilians, a communique from the Hindu Council of Sri Lanka states.

It further said that the famous Durgai Amman Temple at Tellipalai and its orphanage and the well-known Amman Temple at Vattapalai in the Mullaithivu District had suffered damage.

'When military operations start and curfew is enforced, the civilians are requested by the authority to take refuge in places of worship. One would expect the armed forces to show greater care in protecting the temple from the ravages of war', the Hindu council states pointing out that the temple at Tellipalai has a tall gopuram which is 'visible at long distance to the naked eye'.

'We are deeply concerned at this development and had brought this to the attention of the President of Sri Lanka, so that prompt steps could be taken to prevent incidents of this nature occurring in the future, the communique further states.

'Adequate compensation should be paid to the next of kin for the loss of lives, to the injured and to the temple trustees. According to a statement of Mr. John Amaratunga, acting Minister of Defence on June 10, 'The Government would use maximum force for the total annihilation of Tiger strength'. Obviously large scale operations by the armed services will continue to increase in intensity and it is our fear that more temples and civilians will fall victim to this offensive, unless adequate preventive measures are taken by the security forces to spare the civilians and their places of worship,' he said.

The national question – the Sinhala & Tamil problem – has to be resolved in a just manner. Political parties and militant groups may come and go, but the Sinhalese and the Tamils who have inhabited Sri Lanka for over 2000 years have to live in equality and harmony in their motherland. 'Let us not allow unnecessary bloodshed and bitterness to mar this process, the communique adds.

Drug Ring in Rome Busted

A Shri Lankan drug trafficking syndicate which had successfully operated for six years from Rome was busted last month in a joint effort by the Police and the Customs personnel of several European and Asian countries.

The syndicate of Tamil men and Sinhala women along with a Libyan financier was rounded up by the Rome and Bari Police in

early May, following a chase of several thousands of miles across two continents.

According to reports, the group comprising four Sinhala women and three Tamil men had been engaged in the smuggling of narcotics from India to Europe since 1986. Specialising in the smuggling of heroin, the group was making a 2.75 kilo heroin delivery from Bombay to Bari in Rome via Frankfurt when arrested by the Police.

The Police Narcotics Bureau in Shri Lanka is now trying to get more details about this group of Lankans, who have been identified as N.A.D. Rohini Perera, C. Magaret Anne, Kusumwathie Laksha, Sepalika Anne Perera, A. Seelan, T.S.R. Krisnnan and N.S. Joseph.

Their Libyan financier resident in Rome has been identified as Fadlun Isacco.

In true story book fashion, the heroin concealed in two picture frames was smuggled by air from Bombay to Frankfurt and Frankfurt to Bari by a courier who got his instructions over the telephone. Once in Bari, he was instructed to leave the pictures in the luggage depot of a railway station and report to a Rome address with the luggage tag and collect his payment from there.

Once the tag was delivered in Rome three members from the gang had travelled to Bari to collect the pictures. Confident that they had made another successful run, the trio returned to an apartment shared by the gang in Rome only to be arrested by the Police, who walked in on their heels.

What neither the syndicate nor its Libyan financier knew, was that the Police and the Customs of India, Britain, Germany and Italy had been cooperating with each other for several years to trap them and that the courier and other members of the syndicate were shadowed almost every step of the way by the agents of one or another of these law enforcing organisations.

Subsequent investigations have revealed that none of the Shri Lankans arrested had any documents to identify them or any addresses in Rome.

Visa Problem for Diplomatic Families in Canada

Staff recruited to the Sri Lanka High Commission in Ottawa are facing difficulty getting their families over to Canada, owing to fears that they would refuse to return when their term was up. Since 1983 eight Sri Lankans on the home-based cadre of the Sri Lankan High Commission in Canada, have stayed behind to seek political asylum, after having completed their terms of office.

In the most recent case the wife and three children of an attache to the High Commission, who were believed to have left Canada in October 1991 having emplaned in Ottawa, were later found to have stayed behind in Canada by disembarking when the plane stopped over in Toronto. The attache himself who had completed his term, had returned to Sri Lanka on the same flight and reported to work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Colombo according to informed sources.

It was only after the wife and children of the officer in question were seen in Ottawa, the High Commission became aware that the family members had not left the country.

The attache carried a diplomatic passport and enjoyed diplomatic privileges in Canada. He himself has now confirmed that his wife and children stayed behind in Canada, the sources said.

Visa-Free Entry Extended

The government has with immediate effect allowed nationals of at least 27 more countries to visit Sri Lanka without visas in a further move to boost tourist arrivals in the country.

Last year tourist arrivals topped 318,000, but the country has yet to reach the peak of 407,230 arrivals registered in 1982, which was shattered in the July of the following year in widespread race riots.

Some in the trade already predict a mini boom this year with the waning of recession in the west, which is the source of at least 60 percent of our tourist traffic.

According to informed sources, the new countries, which have been extended the non-visa entry facility are Cyprus, Turkey, Hungary, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and 15 countries of the Commonwealth of Independent Republics, of the former Soviet Union. Only exception here being Georgia, which has still not been recognised by Colombo.

Earlier, visa-free entry was granted to nationals of 39 countries mainly from among developed nations for visits of one month duration.

Though most of the former east bloc countries were introduced to free market economic policies just recently, they already appear to have affluent sections, officials pointed out. Many Hungarians are already visiting Sri Lanka as tourists.

30,000 Jobs at Risk in Lebanon

Uncertainty shrouds the future employment prospects for an estimated 30,000 Sri Lankans currently working in Lebanon after a recent decree issued by that country's government that bans the recruitment of foreign workers.

The Chairman of the Sri Lanka Foreign Employment Bureau (SLFEB) David Soysa said on June 21 that the ban came into effect on June 15, after it was announced in late May by the Lebanese Minister for Labour and National Economy Abdalla-Al-Amine.

Job recruiting agents in Lebanon were given 15 days to put up shutters, and also warned that the authorities would not hesitate to seek the assistance of the security police to crack down on those who violate the ban, Chairman Soysa said.

He added that with the outlawing of the agencies it leaves no one responsible for foreigners employed in that war-torn Middle East country, including an estimated 30,000 Sri Lankans, many of who had slipped into Lebanon through illegitimate labour channels.

The ban prevents further extensions of work contracts, and it is most likely that many Lankans employed in that country would have to return or risk working illegally, Soysa explained: 'The situation at the moment is rather confusing and we are waiting for more details in this regard,' he added.

The Sri Lanka Government earlier this year banned Lankans from travelling to Lebanon for employment owing to the unstable security situation in that country and also because of conflicting labour regulations, chairman Soysa said. He added since then illegal agencies operating in Colombo continued to smuggle out workers using various clandestine channels with the assistance from the counterparts in Beirut.

Recruiting agents in Lebanon have appealed to the Lebanese government against the ban, but so far there has been little or no response, Mr. Soysa said.

Fourth Kanthasamy Memorial Lecture

The Role of the Media in a Multi-Ethnic Society

A.M. Macan-Markar

Mr. A.M. Macan-Markar is a researcher at the Marga Institute in its political studies and editorial services division. He has a Master of Arts degree in the Humanities and undergraduate degrees in Political Science and Journalism from Hofstra University, New York. As an undergraduate, he was actively involved in a collegiate newspaper, *The Chronicle.* **In his Junior year, he became its editor, which was the first time that a foreign student held the position since the paper began publishing in 1935. Prior to leaving for America, he was a reporter for the** *Evening Observer* **and the** *Sunday Observer.* **The following lecture was delivered on 17 June 1992 at the Sri Lanka Japan Cultural Centre in Colombo in memory of K. Kanthasamy, lawyer and dedicated worker in the fields of relief and rehabilitation and human rights who was abducted from his residence in Jaffna on 19 June 1988 and is presumed dead.**

The late K. Kanthasamy

Let me begin with a confession. During my short stay as a reporter for the *Observer*, I wrote five stories about events in the North. All of them dealt with violence, a situation that provided a neophyte journalist with an opportunity to obtain stories with minimal work. At that time, it was customary to depend on the Police, the Army, or a Government spokesman for information. Further, I acquired the habit of writing the report in Colombo, which was made easy because of the telephone. The distance between me and the scene of the events, in most cases Jaffna, did not appear as a problem. And as I recall, any acts of violence against the State sufficed as news.

Among my reports was a story on the autopsy of K. Navaratnarajah, who was found dead in his cell at the Gurunagar army camp. I began this account by identifying the dead man as a terrorist, and went on to add that there was no indication of violence on the body of the prisoner. This story had one source, a military man, who explained that if violence had occurred, 'a ruptured spleen, kidney, or broken rib would have been noticed while the autopsy was being conducted.' By the way, the police investigated the cause of this death.

Last year, during a research assignment for the Marga Institute, I happened by more information about the same K. Navaratnarajah. It stated that on 10th April 1983, the victim, who was also a Trincomalee farmer, died with 25 internal injuries. Prior to his death in military custody, he was forced to crawl on broken glass, then hot chillie powder was stuffed up his nostrils.

In retrospect, I realized that there was no desire to examine the veracity of my source when I wrote that story. This was a natural bias since he represented the status quo. Moreover, the dead man was a person whom I could not relate to, and there was no empathy in me for his personal anguish or the conditions, if ever, that had motivated him into political action. This distance fed my mental withdrawal, my dehumanizing, of a victim of political violence. It is likely that I was very comfortable with the idea that he had violated the law, and law breakers need to be punished. What is most certain is that I did not question the nature of the law, which in that instance was the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979.

This illustration is to reveal my failure to supply the readers with sufficient information on the death of Mr. Navaratnarajah. Often, deadline pressure does not provide journalists with the luxury of eliciting a diversity of facts. However, that is no excuse for a conscientious reporter, for he or she can develop the story by subsequent reports, the follow-up. In the example I cited, that was not the case; it was a violation of a fundamental tenet of journalism: a news report needs to provide balanced and accurate facts to enable a citizen to arrive at an independent conclusion, helping to make an educated decision. But what did I accomplish? To play judge, prosecuting attorney, and jury; thereby influencing the reader to my own prejudice, denying him or her the truth.

It is relevant to disclose that my editors never corrected me. Their silence encouraged me to blatantly pursue a breach of faith and trust the public has of the press. Our collective negligence contributed in a small way to the widening schism between the Sinhala and Tamil community.

The man we are honouring today, Mr. Kanthasamy, was conscious of this dichotomy by 1981. He responded by publishing the *Saturday Review*, which rolled off the press in January 1982. Although not a journalist, he realized that the media in the country were failing to uphold a primary responsibility to society. There is little doubt in my mind that he had the savvy and perspicacity to understand the process by which information is gathered by the media and disseminated to the public. This is evident in his own writings to justify the creation of the *Saturday Review:*

> *'There are no less than 13 daily newspapers published in Sri Lanka in all three languages, and with one solitary exception, they are all published in Colombo, in the South. (The exception is* **Eelanadu**, *a Tamil tabloid published in Jaffna, in the North.) This in effect means that news happenings in the North or East are sent to the South, where they are filtered, processed, edited, often doctored or distorted, published in the south and sent back to the Northern reader. . . . .While a minority of perceptive readers in the North could at least be in a position to question their credibility, the bulk of the readership in the rest of the island, the majority of whom are Sinhalese, tend to accept the printed word. This process has been going on for the past 25 years. In some small way, through the*

columns of our weekly, we hope to reverse the flow in information and thereby correct the present imbalance.'

The topic of this year's commemoration lecture, 'The Role of the Media in a Multi-Ethnic Society,' gives life to an idea affirmed by the late K. Kanthasamy. Indeed, it is an honour for me to be associated with his ideas through this lecture. As we all know, there were abrupt ends to the lives of many Sri Lankans in the 1980s, and the abduction of Mr. Kanthasamy was typical of the human degradation that proliferated on this land, which some still call paradise. To continue to refer to this land as an Eden, I think, is to ignore the macabre environment that denied people like Mr. Kanthasamy a full life. And history offers us ample evidence of the fate of peoples who ignore the realities, the social forces, during their time. In Sri Lanka, the media, too, contributed to the prevailing attitudes and beliefs. Rather than serve the community as a force of enlightenment, the press, the radio, and the television have blinded people from the truth.

An example that comes to mind is the one-sided, bias reporting that preceded the killing of 13 soldiers in July, 1983. The public perception at that time, thanks to the media, was that the Sri Lankan forces, most of whom happened to be Sinhalese, were the victims of a brutal campaign by armed Tamil youth. Not much was written about life in the North under Emergency Laws, nor were the public informed of alleged attacks by the Police and Army on non-combatant civilians. The little that was written came out of debates in Parliament.

For this lecture, I shall identify the responsibility of the media, as an institution, in a multi-ethnic society. In this regard, we need to ask: what is the role of the individual journalist in gathering information, processing it, and presenting it to the public? And an area that I shall highlight is political reporting, since it is relevant to the topic.

In my preamble, I referred to the rice and curry of the media: information. But those of us who watch television, listen to the radio, or read newspapers need the same commodity to be informed, educated, and entertained. In modern or modernizing societies, information has been recognized as a vital component to progress, and the body of knowledge selected for mass communication mirrors the attitudes of the media and the nature of the society it serves.

As it appears, the role of the media is a convention that has become part of our reality. This format of social communication has evolved to become an inherent feature of any democracy. Often, the institution of the press is described as the 'watchdog' of the government. What needs to be stressed in such a description is that it serves as the 'watchdog' for the people. This flows from the right of freedom of expression, a concept that has gained wider currency with the evolution of peoples' rights.

In our country, the earliest example of the press fighting for the people against the government can be traced back to the last century. In 1848, when a rebellion broke out to protest against the harsh taxes, the Colonial Government under Lord Torrington responded with martial law. However, the victimized local population found an ally in Christopher Elliot, editor of the *Observer* at that time. The loss of life was his rallying cry, and he called for an inquiry, which was opposed by the Governor. But the latter's recall to Britain vindicated the principles that guided the editor.

That confrontation highlights the unwritten social contract between the press and the people: the media is accountable to the public interest only. Although much has happened since then, the idea that aligns the people and the press remains a hallmark of a virile medium.

To uphold such an obligation, virtually making the media the unelected representatives of the citizenry, men and women in this field need to determine that communication exists in their particular medium. For a medium to communicate, it should serve as a forum for ideas, ensuring a two-way transmission of information and opinion. Consequently, journalists become active players in protecting the citizens' right to information. This right is guaranteed in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

It states:

1) Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.

2) Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression this right shall include the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kind, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art or through any other media of his choice.

3) The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph two of the article carries with it special duties and responsibilities: (the need) for the respect of the rights and reputations of others.

Judging from these provisions, it is clear that the emphasis is unequivocally to protect the right of the citizen. On the one hand, the structures of government are expected to guarantee the social right for information. On the other hand, there is a bearing on the media as an institution, too, since nowhere in Article 19 is there a clause to protect the right of the media to exist as an institution. Rather, it is in the interpretation of the provisions that provide the basis for the media to clamour for the right of free expression.

In Sri Lanka, the media regularly violate the obligations of Article 19, by not providing the citizens with diverse information. Sometimes this violation borders on the ridiculous as happened in August 1981, when a leading Sinhala language newspaper justified the State imposed censorship by blaming Tamil newspapers for 'false reporting'. This same newspaper minimized its coverage or ignored altogether the acts of racial violence that month.

Since independence, the ethnic question has remained a central theme in the political agenda of the country. What is more, nationalism as political rallying point, as a means of political expression, and as a method of organizing has not been limited to one group. Both Sinhala and Tamil politicians found in their respective linguistic communities a powerful electorate. Given such a reality, the institutional responsibility of the media is heightened. It has the framework to link different groups together. That could only be achieved if each medium tolerates different views, beliefs, and ideas. Here again, the media has been far from liberal, a phenomenon that was even around when the press was independently owned. Such an attitude was typified during the coverage of the 1956 General Election, where the newspapers and the radio station reflected an embarrassing bias in support of the ruling class. After his victory, the newly elected Prime Minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike described the press as a dictatorship.

There is no doubt that a multi-ethnic society will have its share of political disagreements. It is an inevitable feature, since each group will identify with its culture. But the challenge for the media is to transcend the temptation of becoming partisan.

Before elaborating this function, I need to stress another element in understanding the position of the media. Economically, we are a De-

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veloping country. The problems that journalists face in such societies are quite different from the conditions of their counterparts who work in Developed multi-ethnic societies. In the *Handbook for Third World Journalists*, Al Hester wrote: 'The reporter deals every day with a world in flux. He or she cannot automatically assume, for example, that there will be consistency in the outlook of political leaders, that his or her pay cheque will buy about the same amount of food each week, or that power will always be on to run the presses in the newspapers or for transmission from the broadcasting station.'

In countries such as ours, poverty is not limited to economics; there is poverty of information. If we were to chart the distribution of and access to information in Sri Lanka, the pattern would reveal an uneven state, where a minority enjoy a wealth of knowledge and the majority depend on limited offerings. This disparity is due to the existing structure of the domestic media, which is limited because of the substantial investment and high operating costs needed to function. However, as we progress, the condition is bound to improve, resulting in a growth of outlets of information. A quantitative increase will provide a variety of media for the citizen to select from, and it would help people ascertain the accuracy of news and opinions that flow to them. Such a condition would invariably improve the quality of public debate on national policy.

Be that as it may, reporters in Developing countries cannot search for excuses when the quality and content of information is at fault. One cannot draw a parallel between the medium of dissemination and the subject matter. While the former may be constrained for reasons that I have explained, the latter thrives on the commitment by the individual journalist to serve the public good.

Those who report in countries like ours do impact significantly the perception made by the people of incidents and events in their environment. Further, knowledge that is transmitted through the media gives it legitimacy, authority, and authenticity. It is essential, therefore, to provide the citizen with the facts; diversity of news sources makes for a fuller and richer content of knowledge. To accomplish such an objective, a reporter needs to distinguish between quantifiable fact and opinion, to scrutinize the veracity of information, to guarantee the legitimacy and credibility of the

The Illusion of President Premadasa's 'Ellam'

by Taraki

Thirunavukarasu is a petite but intelligent man. I remember him for the earnestness with which he used to engage in conversations with me whenever I happened to run into him at the Jaffna University, where he was lecturing in History many years ago. Now I hear that Thiruna – as he was known among friends – has become a fulltime member of the LTTE. Some months ago he had been asked by the Tiger high command to hold seminars in the villages and towns of the peninsula to convince the ever hopeful Jaffna Tamils that nothing would come out of the Select Committee and the proposal of Thondaman which had been submitted to it.

Thiruna may have heaved a sigh of relief when news of the curious turn of events taken by Tamilian politics in the city last week reached him. Having said this much, it may be judicious, in a situation where 'democratic' and undemocratic means of coercion have not quite lost their lure, to leave it to the prudent reader to ponder the question – what makes one say that Mr. Thirunavukarasu may have felt relieved?

The strongest point of the Premadasa presidency, locally and internationally has been its relationship with the Tamils; that relationship is now showing clear signs of strain. The popular perception amongst the Tamils was that Mr. Premadasa was a Sinhala leader who had come to deliver them 'ellam' (everything), but Eelam.

But when the Tamil groups in Colombo met him on 15 June, he told them that he would stand by the UNP manifesto, which states unequivocally that the party is against the merger of the north and east. The Tamil parties, alas, till then had not paid much attention to the UNP's manifesto; they had pinned their hopes as many Tamils had done, on his much publicized not Eelam, but Ellam stance and other gestures, real or imaginary, which were considered extremely favourable to realising the 'legitimate political aspirations of the Tamils'.

The groups had gone to see the President with the hope of getting his commitment on some fundamental issues.

The position of the party with the largest representation on the Parliamentary Select Committee is now clear. In fact, it has always been clear, in the form of an official document, but for the hopes entertained by the Tamils in general. These hopes had fed on nothing but rhetoric. The headline of the 'Virakesari' said yesterday: **'A peace-solution without the permanent merger of the North and East would not be accepted. – The Tamil parties reiterate their position'.**

These parties have set themselves a time frame to work out a political package for the ethnic question. However, the indications are that practical considerations will overwhelm and conceal political discontent after the time frame expires at the end of July.

Although the government may not be too keen to hear that there is now a silent tendency within friendly groups to question the bona fides of the country's political leaders, it may find the timing of the government's assertion that it remains committed to its manifesto, counter-productive in terms of its national and geopolitical strategies. It was said that if a solution to the ethnic question, acceptable to the Tamils were to be worked out, it had to be worked out during President Premadasa's rule or it would never be, after him. The stand taken by the LTTE on three occasions would show the power of the interpretations to which his catchy statements on the ethnic question had been subjected to in the Tamil public sphere. When they were holding talks with the government the LTTE told the Tamils that the President genuinely wanted to give an honourable solution to the Tamils, but was unable to do so because of the Sinhala opposition's incorrigible chauvinism.

The view of the Tigers, during the Impeachment crisis was that Mr. Premadasa was less chauvinistic than Lalith and Gamini; and that the impeachers were Indian stooges. The LTTE also attempted to send its EROS MPs to strengthen his hand in Parliament.

And recently they have said that the President is a Sinhala chauvinist, but he is a nationalist who would not allow India to intervene in Sri Lankan Tamil affairs.

The other Tamil groups and opinion-makers also firmly believed that the President was the only Sinhala leader who was, after 40 years of failures,

genuinely interested in giving an honourable political package to the Tamils. It was asserted in some circles that the donor countries had to back Mr. Premadasa because only he could drag the country out of its ethnic conflagration into expedited capitalist development; and that he was their best bet for secularizing the Sri Lankan polity to make it suitable for their structural adjustment programmes.

It was also argued that Mr. Premadasa was politically secure because he had the full backing of the minorities. And this is what no doubt gave him the moral and diplomatic strength to systematically and persistently negate the leverage that India had had in Sri Lanka by virtue of its relationship with the Tamils of the north and east.

Yet there was a voice of scepticism, although little noticed, and emanating from Jaffna; a voice which seemed to reflect the thoughts of Prabhakaran and Mahathaya. The editorials of the LTTE's official organ averred regularly that the President was just another manifestation of the old Sinhala chauvinist project; nothing had really changed under him. On the Indian side, the 'democratic' Tamil groups were told once in a while that they were being taken for a ride by the President.

The UNP is the determinant factor in the Select Committee. The President has clearly stated his decision to stand by his party at a time when his army is smashing its way into Jaffna and at a time when provincial councils have been deprived of several powers.

The illusion of 'ellam' has been laid bare. The Select Committee may soon become another flimsy item thrown into the 40 years old junkyard of ethnic solutions.

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'We want to see the Tigers on the run', says a military official 'and we want the people of the peninsula to feel that we have to join forces and rid the country, which belongs to all of us, of terrorism' he adds.

There is still a long way to go to physically take control of the whole of the peninsula. But then as everybody knows physical control does not mean the end of the battle. The hearts and minds of the people have to be won and for that the military, always seen as a brutal and repressive force, must give itself a new face.

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Resurgence of 'Thonda-Bashing' and 'Sinhala Mathematics'

by Anuruddha Tilakasiri

The Opposition's agitation over the proposed hotel complex in Kandalama is the 'logical' culmination of the developments of the last several weeks. First came the Indian 'banning' of the LTTE. When President Premadasa, quite rightly, saw no reason to follow suit, the oppositionists promptly accused him of being 'soft' on the Tigers. In fact some of the oppositionists were gleefully talking of a possible Indian move – to seize LTTE supremo Prabhakaran and to 'punish' Mr. Premadasa at the same time. Then came the totally unexpected – the multipronged military offensive against the Tigers. Mr. Premadasa thereby outmanoeuvred and surprised his opponents – yet again. That move took the wind out of the Opposition's sails and left them with nothing much to say. But not for long. Realizing that yelling 'Tiger lover' may not be a very successful tactic right now, the opposition looked around for *yet another* issue which would allow them to use Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism in their campaign against Mr. Premadasa. The current campaign against the hotel complex in Kandalama is the result of this search.

Let us say at the outset that this is not an attempt to list the pros and cons (specially as regards the environmental aspect) of the proposed hotel complex in Kandalama. That we will leave to the experts. *What we are attempting to do is to demonstrate how the Opposition is using the Kandalama issue to incite Sinhala Buddhist chauvinist passions against the Premadasa administration.* To hear this latest bunch of crusaders talking, one should be pardoned for thinking that the future of Buddhism in Shri Lanka depends entirely on whether there's a hotel in Kandalama or not. After all, the tourists have the whole world to go to, but we Sinhala-Buddhists have nowhere else to go, right? One might also be pardoned for thinking that prior to this, no hotel had been built close to a 'Weva' (tank) and a 'dagaba'. But we know that there are hotels in all the ancient cities in Shri Lanka – from Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa to Sigiriya and Kataragama – and that these have not led to the destruction of Buddhism. *In fact, far more damage is being done to Buddhism by the practices engaged in by certain sections of the Sangha – like propagating casteism and caste oppression; using Buddhism to incite passions against ethnic and religious minorities and to justify bloody wars – all of which are clear violations of the teachings of the Lord Buddha.*

Anura Bandaranaike is an enlightened modernist who represents the moderate, democratic wing of the SLFP, right? With him in charge democracy and the Open Economy would be safe, right? *Wrong.*

> 'Our party is against the building of this hotel complex because it will do a great deal of damage to the tank culture and to the Buddha Sasana'. *(Divaina,* June 15). 'The government was receptive to the protest against the hotel complex in Iranawila but is ignoring the protests against the hotel at Kandalama. Is it because Buddhist monks are leading this protest? If the government listened to the voices of the Catholic clergy and put a stop to Iranawila why can't they be receptive to the protest of Buddha monks and stop building a hotel at Kandalama?' *(Divaina* and *Lankadeepa* – June 15). *That's Anura 'Billy Banda' Bandaranaike talking folks – not some wild eyed monolingual Sinhala Buddhist fanatic.*

Over to Mahinda Rajapakse, another 'centrist' –

> 'Though the whites destroyed the tanks and our self sufficiency, they couldn't destroy our national ethos. Now Thondaman is trying to do what the whites couldn't do then. By building hotels near every tank they are trying to destroy Sinhala villages.' *(Lankadeepa,* June 15).

Teaching Thonda a lesson

Now that the two leading SLFP 'liberals' have laid the necessary ground work, we have Tilak Karunaratne dotting the i's and crossing the t's: 'Today the only powerful man in this country is Thondaman. Plantation Tamils now have about 54,000 acres of land. But it is difficult to find even an inch of land for a cemetery for the Sinhalese.

'There's a scheme to distribute fallow lands around the plantations under a village development plan to about two lakhs of Tamils who will lose their jobs. Thondaman's power has to be destroyed. Otherwise in a few years the Sinhalese and the Muslims will lose the right to live in this land.

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Thondaman is working to create a Tamil kingdom in the upcountry for the first time in Lankan history.

'The Kandalama hotel can be described as another result of Mr. Thondaman's methodical invasion to take away the rights of the Sinhala people and because he regards the Sinhalese as wimps. Though he may be protected by people in very high places, we must teach Mr. Thondaman a lesson not to do things such as this.

'Mr. Thondaman is trying to deceive the Sinhalese by telling lies about the benefits to the country from building hotels. His objective is to bring the acme of Buddhist culture, Dambulla, under a Tamil invasion. Hela Urumaya will give complete support to the people of Dambulla to defeat this scheme by the rulers to destroy Sinhala heritage and to take away the rights of the absolute majority of the Sinhala people.' *(Divaina* – June 15).

Slouching towards Bethlehem

Stirring stuff indeed. If the building of the hotel complex in Kandalama will damage the environment and livelihood of the people of the area then verifiable facts and figures should be presented to prove this point. That is how a rational, progressive and truly modern party would handle an issue like this. Instead the SLFP is resorting to *Sinhala racism* and *Buddhist fundamentalism*. Everything is being done to whip up anti-Tamil, anti-Catholic and anti-upcountry Tamil/Thondaman hysteria. If these fanatics ever assume governmental power it would be pretty close to real fascism. Only a JVP regime could be worse.

We know the role played by the various anti-Tamil policies of the SLFP and its allies in the creation and the exacerbation of the ethnic problem – the Sinhala Only Act in 1956 gave rise to the Tamil national movement and the various policies implemented by the '70 – '77 government (the '72 Constitution, mediawise standardization etc.) gave rise to the armed Eelam struggle. Considering the gut-hatred the SLFP led oppositionists seem to be having against all ethnic and religious minorities, if they ever assume office, not only will the Eelam struggle get a new lease of life it would also encompass the *hill country*. Furthermore there may be religious clashes with Buddhists pitted against both Christians and Muslims, eventually leading to full blown *religious wars* – replete with external involvements and ramifications. The country will be torn apart and destroyed completely.

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The Politics of Unholy Alliances

– S. Sivasegaram

Many appear to react to recent events in the politics of Tamilnadu on the basis of their attitude towards the LTTE. The responses of Sri Lankan Tamil nationalist parties and movements and their supporters to any rise or fall in the fortunes of the DMK and the AIADMK have ceased to be mere vicarious experiences after the anti-Tamil violence of 1983. Indira Gandhi, whose cordiality towards Sirima Bandaranayake was unpalatable to the TULF and most other Tamil nationalists, was suddenly elevated to the status of not only the guardian of Tamils in Sri Lanka but also the champion of the Tamil Eelam separatist cause by the TULF and the leading militant movements, despite her failure to express explicitly support for any separatist struggle with the sole exception of what led to the birth of Bangladesh.

Indira's record of brutal suppression of democratic rights during the emergency years preceding her electoral defeat in 1977 was conveniently ignored by her Sri Lankan Tamil devotees, to whom her ruthlessness towards the separatists of Punjab and Assam, the liberation forces of Kashmir and the rebels of the Naxalbari movement was irrelevent to their needs. Her moves to dismiss any state government failing to toe the line laid down by New Delhi was not a matter of concern for most of the Sri Lankan Tamil leadership as long as the leaders enjoyed the patronage of New Delhi. The possibility that she was a victim of her own folly in Punjab as much as her son and successor was one of his in Sri Lanka was never acknowledged by any of the leading Tamil nationalists. They never even considered the possibility that the Indian ruling class under Indira could be manipulating the Eelam struggle to serve its regional interests.

Indian Intentions

The apparent change in attitude of the Indian government towards the Tamil liberation struggle is, even today, interpreted by some in terms of the personalities of Indira and Rajiv Gandhi. The only consistent exceptions to this rule among the Tamil liberation movements happen to be some of the smaller groups such as the NLFT who did not, in any event, depend on Indian government patronage. Indian intentions became clearer when unpublished details of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987 came to light. But this did not trouble many of the liberation movements and the TULF who had become totally dependent on Indian patronage for their very existence. The behaviour of the Indian armed forces in the north and the east of Sri Lanka shocked many Tamil people who saw India as a friend of the Tamil cause. But the events in the north since 1989 have somehow made that a faded memory in some minds.

If one recollects the Indian government's historical concern for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, especially the Hill-Country Tamils in the years preceding 1977 when deals were struck about the plight of a people with no concern for their well-being, one would realize that there were other motives than concern for the safety of Tamils in the Indian attitude to the Sri Lankan Tamil question after 1983. The change in the Sri Lankan foreign policy in 1977 and the need for support from the AIADMK in Tamilnadu to a Congress government at the centre which was gradually losing its foothold in the northern states were infinitely more prominent in decision making in New Delhi than the fate of Tamils facing the wrath of the forces of Sinhala chauvinism.

The genuine concern of the people of Tamilnadu towards the plight of the Tamils of Sri Lanka stood in sharp contrast with the opportunism of the political parties of Tamilnadu. The position taken by nearly all major political parties of Tamilnadu vis-a-vis the demand for an independent Tamil Eelam was conditioned by the mood of the public. Even opponents of the just demands of the Tamils of Sri Lanka, including part of the right wing establishment in Tamilnadu, were at times, forced to take sympathetic positions in relation to the Tamil people's struggle against the forces of oppression. The attitude of *The Hindu*, for example, was indicative of the mood of the right-wing establishment backing the Congress government. There were still others, like the journalist Cho Ramasamy, who consistently resented the Tamil liberation struggle except when it served Indian interests in Sri Lanka.

DMK, AIADMK Opportunism

The opportunism of the DMK and the AIADMK was, from the very

outset, obvious to any independent observer, and I seriously doubt that the movements which sought alliances with them were unaware of the motives of the two major parties of Tamilnadu. The attempts to use the political parties of Tamilnadu resulted in the entrapment of the liberation movements in the tangled web of corruption and deceit that is characteristic of the politics of that state.

Whoever was in power in the state of Tamilnadu also enjoyed the, perhaps dubious, benefit of being the patron of the LTTE in that state. The dominance of the LTTE in the liberation struggle also meant that, except for a handful of people opposed to the Tamil liberation struggle, none of the political parties with electoral ambitions dared antagonise the LTTE, at least until 1987. The opening of hostilities between the LTTE and the IPKF inevitably forced the Congress(I) in Tamilnadu and most of the pro-establishment media to oppose the LTTE. But considerable public sympathy remained with the LTTE, and increased after reports of IPKF misbehaviour reached Tamilnadu, and there was admiration for the LTTE even in some quarters which were usually associated with Indian regional interests. The fall of the AIADMK government in Tamilnadu and the Congress government at the centre led to new alliances. The DMK was the new patron of the LTTE and the AIADMK was still holding on to its claims of loyalty to the LTTE. The killings of the EPRLF leaders in Madras and the TULF leaders in Colombo were not taken seriously by either of the 'Dravidian' parties, at least until the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

Overnight, nobody wanted to know the LTTE, except some of the staunchly Tamil nationalistic organisations and individuals. The D.K. factions and the P.M.K., a party based on the interests of backward castes, are the most important of organisations which have continued to defend the LTTE even after the LTTE leader was formally accused of planning the murder of Rajiv Gandhi and the LTTE banned. The DMK failed to take a firm stand on that issue.

Jayaram Jayalalitha, an Ayyangaar Brahmin, who leads a party which is a successor to a strongly Tamil nationalist and anti-Brahminist movement was also the candidate of the most reactionary sections of Tamilnadu including the Sankaraachaarya Kaanchipuram. She was surrounded by advisors who were indifferent if not hostile to the Tamil liberation struggle. She lost no time in taking advantage of the anti-Sri Lankan Tamil sentiments which had been brewing for some time as a result of the misconduct of some Sri Lankan Tamils and the insensitivity of many Sri Lankan Tamils to the realities of middle class life in Tamilnadu, especially in the urban areas, and reached a peak in the wake of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi to deprive Sri Lankan Tamils of benefits granted under the AIADMK rule of M.G. Ramachandran and continued under the DMK. She also successfully applied pressure on the central government to repatriate Tamil refugees and appears to have had her way in securing a ban on the LTTE.

The ban on the LTTE and India's demand to extradite the LTTE leader V. Pirabakaran for trial for conspiracy to murder have brought joy to the hearts of many opponents of the LTTE. The persecution of alleged LTTE supporters by the Jayalalitha government in Tamilnadu is also very much approved of by these forces, who seem to endorse every action of the Tamilnadu state to harass its political opponents.

The admirers of Jayalalitha in the press took some time before they realised that the lady wanted more than absolute loyalty. She demanded unconditional surrender and servility. Although there were clear symptoms of these within weeks of her ascent to power, journals like *India Today* saw them as indications of firm leadership and congratulated her for her determination to wipe out the LTTE in Tamilnadu. The media which turned a blind eye to her persecution of the DMK and other political opponents awoke only after the press in Tamilnadu itself became the target of her fury. Discoveries are only now being made by them about how Jayalalitha and her aide Sasikala had amassed wealth. Her conduct, as described in *India Today* of 31.5.92, appears to be, if anything, a little more megalomaniacal and paranoid than that the President of Sri Lanka had been accused of being in the unsuccessful impeachment motion of 1991.

It looks as if some of the Sri Lankan Tamil admirers of Jayalalitha will take even longer to discover what the lady stands for. The attitude of the major Tamil liberation movements and the TULF towards Indian political parties was based entirely on what they could get out of an alliance with someone. There was never a long-term view of matters and even less interest in what their allies meant to the people of Tamilnadu and India. The alliances were therefore opportunistic and rather fragile, except where the relationship was clearly established as a master-slave relationship or some form of sell-out.

One cannot deny the importance of events in India to the struggles for democracy, human rights and self-determination in Sri Lanka. Those who struggle for justice cannot form unholy alliances with those who perpetrate crimes against others and be oblivious to every form of injustice they claim to oppose. The position one takes on the banning of the LTTE in India and on the demand to ban the LTTE in Sri Lanka cannot be justified on the basis of charges of undemocratic behaviour and violations of human rights by the LTTE, however well founded. If these are criteria to go by, the UNP and the AIADMK should have been banned by now. The ban on the LTTE is an expression of political weakness of the Indian government, and the stand one takes on the ban is a measure of one's commitment to democratic principles. One who endorses a ban on the LTTE forfeits the normal right to criticise the LTTE for its intolerance of opposition in the north.

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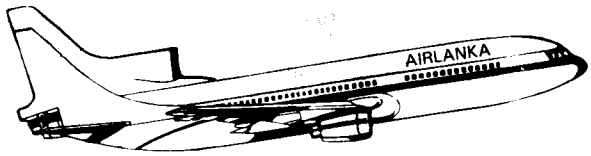

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THE SUB-CONTINENTAL SCENE

★ The Financial Scandal – 'A Systems failure'

The manner in which Haishod Mehta, ran, to say, a coach and six into India's banking system, diverted millions of State Bank of India funds into his private portfolio without security and amassed the biggest individual fortune in the country's stock market history, has triggered off a searching scrutiny of India's banking and stock market regulations by the Government. In the eyes of some, Mehta is guilty of a fraud of epic proportions, and should be subject to severe punishment; others consider Mehta as one who epitomises the spirit of adventure, a highly intelligent man who played the stock market game under the rules and at worst exploited the weaknesses of banking regulations to his economic advantage. It is an interesting example of moral ambivalence given an apt description as 'a systems failure' in the words of Manmohan Singh, Finance Minister. The biggest financial scandal in India led to the Communist Party of India calling the Reserve Bank of India the 'villains of the piece' as it was fully aware that bankers' receipts were being abused, a lapse which lay at the heart of these gigantic transactions running into millions of rupees. But S. Venkataraman, Reserve Bank of India's Governor, cryptically observed 'frauds are possible in any system, in any country however modern and sophisticated and however computerised – it really reflect an erosion of values'. One is reminded of the recent fraudulent diversion of pension funds in the UK's tightly monitored financial system by the Maxwell family and the equally vast frauds like those of the Saloman Brothers in USA. One recalls the achievement of Emil Savundranayagam of Sri Lanka in running through the UK's insurance system not long ago! Whatever the explanation and whatever the rationalisation, the fact of the matter is that what has been recently discovered is the 'tip of the iceberg'. In the meantime Mehta himself bravely denies with remarkable self assurance any act of misdemeanour on his part 'neither I nor any of my companies have done anything in violation of any law. I have acted strictly according to law and prevailing practice'! He even goes one step further and states that the action of the Central Bureau of Investigation in freezing his assets would devalue the level of his assets portfolio, undermine the ability of the banks to sustain the value of his portfolio and 'retrieve a seemingly lost situation; and cause serious injury to the national interest'!

Where in all this confusing verbiage of charge and counter-charge, does the truth lie! What is clear at this stage of the nationwide investigations is that commercial adventures are always in any country, ahead of the system! 'Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy' said Harold Laski; such vigilance is also the price of a nation's financial health! The committee headed by Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India has clearly indicted many of the leading banks of India as having acted in collusion with brokers either with deliberately fraudulent motives or sheer negligence.

Atal Bibar Vajpayee has openly declared that the securities scandal is much more significant than the Bofors weapons scandal. The British bank STANDARD CHARTERED has estimated its loss as over 200 million, 5 times its total profit in all of West Asia and South Asia for 1991! The scandal has adverse effects on the inflow of foreign investment into India. US financial markets which were beginning to take an interest in Indian investments are having reservations now.

★ Liberalism Under Challenge

The raging controversy in New Delhi's premier Muslim nationalist institution the 'JAMIA MILLIAH' coming close on the heels of the even more violent controversy over the Ayodhya temple ('rama-janabhoomi') highlights the current attitude in India towards any form of liberalism in religious fields.

What is now being canvassed among Muslim fundamentalist elements in New Delhi is that the highly respected Pro-Vice-Chancellor of this prestigious institution be removed from office merely because he expressed the view that banning Salman Rushdie's controversial book the 'Satanic Verses' was no solution! Muslim academics who agree with Voltaire 'I do not agree with what you say but I will fight unto death for your right to say it' are being branded as irreligious and the fanatics are raving that the Vice Chancellor be sacked! The fact that the worthy Professor does not agree with Salman Rushdie is forgotten in this mad religious fervour! Like in the 'Rama – janabhoomi' issue over the Ayodhya temple, so is this agitation an example of the growing tendency among politicians to exploit religious issues to manipulate democracy in their favour and in their pursuit of power, using the religious sensibilities of the masses. Muslim politicians see in this agitation an opportunity to fan religious flames and win votes as did Hindu fundamentalists when they exploited the Ayodhya temple issue – 'babri Masjid versus Rama Bhoomi' – as a rich harvest for Hindu vote. Communalists be they Muslim or Hindu became Members of Parliament over the dead bodies of many innocent citizens of India be they Hindu or Muslim. This represents one of the sad dilemmas of democracy in backward countries – India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka – militant fundamentalism not only is harmful to the unity and integrity of the country but to the very foundations of democracy itself, militant majority communalism in any form in any country only undermines democracy and tears society to sheds. It also ignores one fundamental issue – the minorities in any country can only flourish in a secular liberal democracy.

What is most disturbing is the report from Kerala a state with the highest literacy rate in India with a history of total communal harmony – of the alarming and ominous rise of Muslim fundamentalism! The Islamic Seva Sangh (ISS) is a response to the Rastriya Swayamseva Sangh (RSS). Two months ago rioting broke out in 8 districts following a rumour that the Babu-Masjid Mosque in Ayodhya had been destroyed! Earlier, scores of cinema houses and liquor shops were burnt by Muslims of the ISS group who swear by the 'Shariat' – Delhi has definite information that most of the fundamental organisations receive substantial funds from Iran and Saudi Arabia.

The two important conclusions to be drawn by these developments are (1) The external funding of fundamentalism could lend an enormous support for even a minority group to blow up communal/religious tensions to disproportionately large dimensions (2) Even in a state like Kerala where (a) the composition of society is such there is a closely societal relationship and where single-community dominance is virtually nil (b) the literacy rate is the highest in the whole of India, religio-communal tensions could be fomented to be a major divisive force – be it by the Rastriya Swayamseva Sangh or the Islamic Seva Sangh. Didn't a well known academic say 'Hindu Fundamentalism is a contradiction in terms'!

★ The Hand of the KGB

Some interesting revelations have come to light recently in the Soviet press over the manner in which the KGB played a role in the internal

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affairs of India and Sri Lanka. Hitherto the speculation was over the extent of CIA interference in the internal political issues in the third world. The Communist Party of the former Soviet Union (CPSU) had 'secret funds' for 'special operations' in India for anti-American demonstrations. In 1989 the then KGB chief Yuri Andropov sought approval from the Soviet leadership to organise mass rallies in New Delhi against burning of a mosque in Jerusalem. Another exposure in the Soviet press relates to Gorbachev being informed of CPSU funding Srimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP in the general elections of 1989 in Sri Lanka. In the same issue of 'Moscow News' (of 10th June 1992) there was published a letter from the CPSU chief where he refers to 'a number of KGB confidants being paid their way to Parliament who belonged to both the SLFP and UNP.' The KGB chief even quotes Mrs. Bandaranaike thanking Moscow for the 'support' and assured that her party would use increased strength in Parliament to block pro-western foreign policy and 'the anti-democratic domestic course of the ruling UNP'.

There is a growing speculation that these unprecedented disclosures of recent KGB documents in the Soviet Press is part of a plan by President Yeltsin to discredit his former arch-rival Michael Gorbachev. The net result of these disclosures, however, is that it seriously undermines Russian Secret Service operations in other countries.

★ Buddhagaya, Centre of Controversy

Buddha Gaya, the world's holiest Buddhist shrine, has become the centre of a major controversy between Hindus and Buddhists over its control. The Mahabodhi temple has been attacked by 1000 Buddhists, who beat up the Hindu priests disrobed idols and broke up sacred jars according to *The Telegraph*. This ugly scene had taken place in the presence of foreign diplomats – the attack, it is sad to record took place on May 16, on the birthday of Lord Buddha – Vesak day at the very site where Buddha attained enlightenment 2500 years ago! The Hindus say the five idols in the shrine room are dedicated to the 'Pancha Pandavas' in the Mahabharata. The Buddhists claim that the five idols depict the Buddha in five different moods!

In the land of its birth, Buddhists count for only 0.7% of India's 850 million population; the majority of these Buddhists live in Maharashtra where 'underclass' Hindus in their thousands the 'so called untouchables' were converted to Buddhism, a movement led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar himself an 'Untouchable' one of India's greatest constitutional authorities. He co-authored India's Constitution.

★ Tamil Faculty in US University

There is a move afoot in California to establish a chair for Tamil in the prestigious University of California at Berkeley. Professor George Hart who took his doctorate in Tamil from Madurai Kamaraj University stated at a meeting of Tamil Sangams of North America that the chair 'would provide the Tamil language, one of the oldest languages in the world more visibility and prestige not only in the USA but throughout the world'. Professor Hart who teaches Tamil at the University of Pennsylvania is marrie to Kaushalya a Tamil scholar fro Madurai.

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Guess what? The world has a brand new saviour. And guess who? Read the editorial of the daily (English language) *Island* (June 16) and Ye shall see – it's none other than Jathika Chinthana Guru Nalin de Silva. the same guy who in a middle page interview with the *Irida Divaina* (May 21) stated *'Subjects such as Mathematics and logic can be divided into Western Mathematics and Sinhala Mathematics and Western Logic and Sinhala Logic. I tell my students this while I teach Western Mathematics.'* Significantly, this was *not* repeated in the otherwise identical interview he gave to the *Daily Island* a few days later! We also wonder whether it's to study the intricacies of Sinhala Mathematics and Sinhala Logic – whatever they may be – that Nalin spent his sabbatical in the University of Sussex, England, not so long ago. We remember how the followers of Nalin 'Sinhala Maths' de Silva attempted to institute a reign of terror in the University of Colombo – attacking students and lecturers holding views contrary to Jathika Chinthanaya, banning Coca Cola and Fanta, imposing a fundamentalist dress code (no denims) etc. According to *the Island* editorialist, this guy is in the class of Plato, William Blake and Anagarika Dharmapala (a bit of a mixed bag, what?) He is 'a navigator in the avantgarde of thought who is warning us of the perils into which the earth is being led by its leaders. 'Peoples of the World – Nalin is Coming. Are You Ready?

Fatal attraction

The lionising of the likes of Nalin de Silva in the 'independent' (i.e. non Lake House) English language press is a clear indication that the beast is ready to come out of the cave. These fanatics do not care what the rest of the world may think or say. They will not be deterred by the possibility of the world washing its hands of Shri Lanka and this country becoming an international pariah as a result. In fact they are likely to regard this as an unmixed blessing, because these people are xenophobes who confuse independence with autarky. Therefore the international community will not be able to influence these fanatics. If they succeed, our people will be at the mercy of these insane elements who will go all out to remake Shri Lanka in their own grotesquely misshapen image. The carnage and mayhem that will result will destroy the country and its people.

Continued from page 14

source, to ensure confidentiality, to offer comparative opinion, and to report the news free of bias. Most of these, ladies and gentlemen, I failed to do in my report on the death of Mr. Navaratnarajah. And reading through newspapers these days, I find that not much has changed.

In a broad sense, journalists are story tellers. However, the conventions that shape this narrative form are different from that of a fiction writer. For example, when writing a news story, the reporter attempts to answer the following questions in the first two paragraphs: who did or said what, where, when, and how? Of course the order of the four Ws and H may vary according to the news. And the body of the text will answer why this story made it in the media.

To a large extent, the prevailing conventions that influence and guide journalists are shaped by the editor and the publisher of a newspaper. While each publication takes on a philosophy and character by the content of coverage, one can place a publication as having a broad, national focus or a limited, selective perspective. In Sri Lanka, the daily newspapers and Sunday editions that attempt to be national are published by the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, Upali Newspapers, Wijeya Publications, and Express Newspapers. In addition, there is a flourishing mini-press, which supplies special interest magazines, religious publications, partisan papers, and occasional pamphlets that are available in Sinhala, Tamil, and English.

(To be continued).

'Black Cats' on the Prowl

The Lawyers for Human Rights and Development has complained to the Police Chief that armed men dressed in black had visited the group's offices this week looking for its Secretary General Kalyananda Tiranagama and another lawyer.

The lawyers group is involved in campaigning for human rights in the country and during the last few months has filed a large number of fundamental rights and habeas corpus applications in cases of disappearances and detention at the request of the people.

Mr. Tiranagama, in a complaint to the IGP says:

'About 10.30pm on June 30, he had returned to their office at Cotta Road, Borella from Badulla High Court with Mohan Seneviratne, another lawyer working at the office. Their peon then told them of an incident that had taken place the previous night.

'About 12.30am having heard the ringing of the office bell, our peon had come near the front door of the office and peeped through the grill. On that occasion our peon has seen two men wearing black trousers, black T-shirts and also wearing sun glasses to partly cover their faces, standing at the door step with guns in their hands. There had been two others similarly clad on the stairs, a few feet below them.

'The two persons who were at the door step had put their two guns from the two sides in such a way that he could not move away and asked him whether he knew D.M. Seneviratne or Tiranagama. He had replied that he did not know. Then they have pointed at the name board of the organization which appears on our wall and asked 'Is this the office of that organization?' and he had replied 'Yes'. They had flashed their torch at the door of the office and waited there for about five minutes. Then they have said they were going and gone off,' Mr. Tiranagama has told the I.G.P.

'After hearing this story and having our dinner we went to sleep about 11.30pm. Around midnight we heard the ringing of our office bell, but we did not open the door and remained silent.

Then about one hour later we heard the ringing of the bell again. On that occasion our office peon had partly opened the door and crawled up to the parapet wall and peeped through an opening and seen that there was a Pajero jeep parked on Cotta Road, at the turn off to our office. Our lawyer and peon immediately brought it to my attention and I asked them to remain silent and go to sleep,' Mr. Tiranagama has said.

The lawyers group secretary has told the IGP that generally all along they have had very good relationship with Defence Ministry Officials and other authorities and personally have nothing against any of the members of the security forces.

'We do not know whether this is an act of some Police Officers who have harboured some ill-will towards us. We have nobody to suspect. But we wish to mention one incident which took place on April 25.

'On that day, our legal officer, Mohan Seneviratne visited the CDB to obtain the signature of a detainee held at the 6th floor for filing a fundamental rights application on his behalf. On that occasion the CDB officials have expressed doubts of the authenticity of the letter and refused to allow the lawyer to obtain the signature of the detainee. We brought this matter to the attention of General Cyril Ranatunge, Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and we learnt that he has ordered an inquiry on this matter. We do not know whether some people who had something to do with that incident are behind this matter.

'We request you to investigate into this matter and provide us with necessary security', the lawyer states in his letter.

Letter From Jaffna

Abduction of 'Senthan'

V. Senthan (43 years), was taken away from his home in Kachilaimadu by the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) on the 14th of April 1992. A brilliant mechanical engineer, and a poet in both the Tamil and English languages, Senthan lived simply with his wife and three children. Senthan was born in Karaveddy and schooled at Hartley College, Point Pedro. His father, Pandit Veeragathy is widely regarded a doyen of Tamil scholars by academics in the field. As an engineer Senthan gained wide experience, having been in Iran, France and Canada. In keeping with his ideals, he returned home and invested his money in equipping a workshop.

Though sympathetic to socialist ideals and deeply concerned about the people, Senthan practised these in his life rather than identify with any grouping. He owned a workshop and showed his brilliance as an innovator, working under severe technical limitations. His contribution to keeping civilian life going in wartime Jaffna is considerable. Amongst the projects handled by him are fashioning equipment for the sugar and alcohol producing plants of Palm Products Industries and Palmyra Board. One of his ongoing projects was to build boats for the Red Cross. These when ready, are to be used to fetch food supplies from ships anchored off Pt. Pedro. His workforce was so loyal to him, that through times of divisive and murderous passions he held together men with diverse sympathies, and often took home less money than his workers. Senthan was one among the handful of professional engineers now active in Jaffna.

At a time when intellectuals emigrated in large numbers (including nearly all Senthan's contemporaries from the University of Ceylon), Senthan remained because of his concern for the ordinary people and his loyalty to his workers.

One aspect of Senthan's abduction is the general crackdown on independently minded persons known to hold views running counter to the LTTE's aspirations of totalitarian legitimacy. The LTTE's detainees include university students, members of literary groups critical of the totalitarian, militarist direction of the Tamil struggle (e.g. Theepori & Peravai), and former Left Wing activists. From about March this year, the LTTE launched a series of arrests in the farming area of Paranthan. At least six persons are known to have been arrested and it is expected that several more would be taken in. Most of them had contacts with Left groups several years ago. Despite having through repression reduced all dissent in Jaffna to the passive, private and cognitive, the LTTE's actions betray the nervousness of those who distrust their own rhetorical claims.

The other aspect, according to indications, is that a sister of Senthan is the wife of Dr. K. Sritharan of the University of Jaffna, a leading activist in the University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna) and a co-author of 'The Broken Palmyra'. The book and reports of the UTHR (Jaffna) have documented human rights violations by the Sri Lankan and Indian states and also the Tamil militant groups. Events have made the LTTE feature prominently in violations by the last

Continued on page 25

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DRESS	:	Lounge Suit
CARRIAGES	:	11.00pm
TICKET	:	£23.50 Per Head

Bookings close on 12th August 1992

Contact Persons: **Mr. R. Raveendralingam**
Tel: 081-554-2710/071-403-5528
Mr. A. Sriharan
Tel: 081-843-9974
0895-257788

Special arrangements have been made with the Hotel for accommodation at reduced rate of £45.00 per twin-bed double room for participants from long distance for overnight stay.

Group bookings consisting of 10 persons can have their own table.

BOOK REVIEW

Trouble in Paradise

A review by Steve Coll*

ONLY MAN IS VILE. *The Tragedy of Sri Lanka. By William McGowan. Farrar Straus Giroux. 397 pp. $25.*

One of Sri Lanka's lesser misfortunes is to be ignored. Despite having staged one of post-colonial history's most brutal and fascinating Third World horror shows – replete with death squads, ethnic fratricide, totalitarian insurgencies, and the usual cast of misguided, Westernized politicians – this teardrop-shaped island nation in the Indian Ocean, formerly the British colony of Ceylon, has managed to rip itself apart during the last several decades without attracting much attention.

Neighbouring India dropped in with 50,000 troops five years ago, hoping to sort out the island's mess, which it had a hand in creating. But its soldiers soon returned home, bloodied and sulking. As for the superpowers, present and former, they have generally left Sri Lanka to its own appalling devices. Japanese businessmen touch down on the island regularly, hawking cars and electronics, and members of the Western aid community stop by with satchels full of blueprints for hydroelectric dams and self-sufficient shrimp farms. But they have not stopped the bodies from piling up.

In the last decade, the total number of deaths from Sri Lanka's implosion seems especially tragic because the island is paradisaical. Its beaches are pristine and its palm forests brim with elephants and coconuts. Sri Lankans themselves often seem gentle and attractive, having achieved since independence – despite their recent habit of war – the highest literacy and lifespan rates of any comparably impoverished people in the world. And yet these same people have also produced a broad culture of violence and two guerrilla movements, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the People's Liberation Front, whose fanatical terror is reminiscent of Pol Pot's Cambodia.

William McGowan, an American teacher and journalist, arrived on the island in 1986, stayed about two years and has now written a book about his experiences, *Only Man Is Vile: The Tragedy of Sri Lanka.* (The title is taken from Bishop Reginald Heber's hymn 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains':

'What though the spicybreezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle;
Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile'.

Swept up by Sri Lanka's beauty and repulsed by its brutality, McGowan travelled to the island's interiors to chronicle several of its bloodiest guerrilla and army campaigns and to make sense of the larger forces at work in the island's dissolution.

Fashioned as a political travelogue, his book contains strong passages, such as a vivid tale of Christmas in the battered eastern town of Batticaloa. McGowan lunches in a 'bullet-scarred refectory' with Jesuit priests who have devoted themselves to defending the region's ethnic Tamil minority from Sri Lankan and Indian death squads. Outside the refectory, war rages. Inside, a priest from New Orleans puts 'Silent Night' on a cassette player before he talks politics in case, he says, 'we are being bugged'.

But while McGowan is a good listener, a careful reporter and a sensitive observer, he seems unable to decide what he thinks about Sri Lanka. In an unfortunate preface, he compares his assessment of the island to the predicament of a servant at his Colombo guest house who sweeps flower petals into piles, only to have them blown away by the wind. 'During most of my stay there, I rarely felt I had anything but the most tentative, uncertain grasp of the war and what it was about,' McGowan writes.

While this humility is occasionally refreshing, McGowan's lack of an argument or even a consistent point of view about Sri Lanka makes it difficult for either the specialist or the newcomer to become engaged in his travels. McGowan examines closely the puzzle pieces of Sri Lanka's divisiveness – the roles of ethnic nationalism, language, religion, economics, and historical identity. But each time, he leaves the pieces in a jumble.

Sometimes McGowan embraces a wispy anthropological relativism to explain the island's conflicts, suggesting that because Sri Lanka's culture is different from his own, he has no right to analyze it. Other times he asserts himself, as when he argues with a nationalist professor from the island's Buddhist, ethnic Sinhalese majority who wishes Sri Lanka could become 'Burma without the mistakes'. McGowan recognizes the man's murderous chauvinism. But he seems afraid to take on the professor's argument directly or to deal with its chilling implications, for fear of being judged 'a Western supremacist.'

One fascinating prism through which to see Sri Lanka's fratricide is suggested by an assertion McGowan makes early in his book. 'Sri Lanka', he writes, 'failed to build a stable multi-ethnic, multicultural society because it embraced many of the very concepts and ideas that multiculturalists in the West have advocated.' But the author lets this provocative suggestion drop, as if it were a mere musing. In the end, McGowan returns to the United States engulfed in dread and foreboding about Sri Lanka's future. One wishes he would go back to the island, this time determined to untangle the contradictions and solve the mysteries that seem to have driven him away.

(Guardian Weekly, 5 July, 1992).

**Steve Coll is the South Asia correspondent for The Washington Post.*

ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES

Rendering Great Service

Ten years ago the review *Tamil Times* made its first appearance and ever since it has been rendering great service not only to the Tamil speaking people living abroad but also to all the peace-loving people living in this country who otherwise don't have access to real facts about the happenings in the North and East. While our Media here has failed to contribute anything significant to find out a viable solution to the Ethnic question the *Tamil Times* together with the London BBC has been the voice of the voiceless in this land. We congratulate the Editor and his collaborators for their perseverance in publishing this review for the last ten years, always upholding the principle that 'facts are sacred, comment is free'. May God bless you. Ad multos annos.

Thomas Savundaranayagam,
Bishop of Vannar,
Bishop's House,
Mannar,
Sri Lanka.

Great Achievement

I am quite pleased indeed to send this message to mark the 10th anniversary of the *Tamil Times.* It is undoubtedly a great achievement to have published the *Tamil Times* as a monthly journal

Continued on page 24

READERS FORUM

TULF's RESPONSE

I WAS distressed to read the vituperative and intemperate letter by Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam. He appears to be piqued that no reference was made to the Tamil Congress in an article devoted to the return of the TULF leaders, M. Sivasithamparam and R. Sampanthan. It saddens us that the Tamil Congress fails to emerge from the pettiness and the craving for publicity that has been the bane of its policies. I need to however correct several false and defamatory statements contained in this letter.

1. The Sansoni Commission Report did not hold that the TULF was a militant organisation.

2. The TULF was consistent in its commitment to non-violence and there was no link whatsoever between the party and TENA or any other militant organisation.

3. The TULF's manifesto in 1977 was explicit and unequivocal in its commitment to non-violence. All candidates strictly adhered to the party policy during the campaign. Mr. Ponnambalam made no complaints about this matter, in the aftermath of his electoral defeat. It is inexplicable as to why he should now do so after a lapse of 15 years.

We would like to respectfully request Mr. Ponnambalam to focus on the larger issues which confront the community, rather than be obsessed by the politics of envy and enmity. The media would then not only take note of his party, but also applaud his political actions.

Yours faithfully,

P. Sivapalan

Central Committee,
TULF,
Colombo.

EXTRADITION OF LTTE LEADER

IF ANY country's politicians or bureaucrats, choose to direct inquiries on an assassination to suit their political whims and fancies it should normally be of no concern of neighbouring or other countries. However if serious charges are being levelled against one or more fellow countrymen on the basis of such type of inquiry, then every citizen must shed parochial prejudices and view the issue more objectively.

One could concede that it is not impossible that one or more India based Sri Lankans who had previously received special military training from India had been physically involved in the performance of a CONTRACT to assassinate the late Rajiv Gandhi. One could also grant that the LTTE had good reason to be very hostile to the late Prime Minister, as did many Sinhalese too, when they eventually realized what the true intentions of the Indo Lanka Accord were.

There is however a very considerable difference between that and a conclusion that any of the organisations that received Indian military training or even its leaders must necessarily have been involved in any CONSPIRACY to commit the murder.

One must not forget that the late Prime Minister did also have many other enemies amongst international, regional, national and Tamil Nadu organisations that had some vested interest in other controversial issues which he took centre stage.

In the circumstances it is hoped that the Sri Lankan Government would not treat any likely extradition requests merely on the face value and would instead ensure that the Sri Lankan Attorney General is provided with adequate and irrefutable evidence to prove the alleged guilt of those whose extradition would be called for.

In this connection one should not overrule the possibility that the timing of the intended extradition request may not be merely coincidental. This should be viewed in the context of the fact that the prospects of a negotiated solution to stop the disastrous wars have been improving recently due to a number of external circumstances. Not the least important of these circumstances is the fact that direct Indian and other foreign involvement in the conflicts have been considerably reduced.

Bernard Wijedoru

Austin Avenue,
Hong Kong.

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over the last 10 years without interruption.

Tamil Times is of course very informative, and makes very useful reading. It has rightly continued to focus attention on the barbarous oppression, the senseless and endless destruction of lives, limbs and property of the Tamil-speaking people in Sri Lanka over the last 30 to 35 years, particularly since the UNP Government came into power in 1977. Also, it has always exposed the wretched repression, State terrorism and massacre of youths resorted to in Southern Sri Lanka by the present Government.

Thus, the commitment of the *Tamil Times* to an all-Island perspective and to stand up courageously against violation of human and democratic rights and being uncompromisingly opposed to the politics of terrorism is commendable indeed. At the same time *Tamil Times* could serve more and more as a platform to drive home the perspective that the national liberation of the Tamil-speaking people will be speeded up to the extent that their struggle is linked to the struggles of the other sections of people against the Government's policies of calculated impoverishment and oppression. The fight against the so-called peoplisation that will inevitably cause large-scale unemployment and conditions of slave labour represents concrete action which all sections fighting for their respective demands should support unconditionally.

I wish to *Tamil Times* greater success in the coming period.

Vasudeva Nanayakkara

Member of Parliament,
Colombo,
Sri Lanka.

'Formidably International'

I missed the fact that May was your 10th Anniversary, until I saw the latest issue. I have read all the contributions noting this event – the flourishes of personal emotion daubing some, as much as the sober, substantial assessments that marked others; almost all of them though, rather forgetting to note particularly that you have been, and continue to be, truly a monthly that is formidably International.

I have been a contributor to your columns – often unknown to me! – as much as a beneficiary from them. In both, we know that we have sought common cause and shared purposes. In the true spirit of journalistic venturing, what has marked you out is not that we agreed, or even disagreed, but that we spoke up for the ideas and concerns that made up our anguished years, down which you struggled, stood steadfast, and now, certainly, promise to prevail!

Needless to say, you have my best wishes for your Future!

Prof. C. Suriyakumaran

Colombo,
Sri Lanka.

Rangapravesam

– Selvi Veshanthini Ravindran

On 16 May 1992, the Baratiya Vidya Bhavan Mountbatten Hall was full to capacity by 6.30pm with an invited audience of musicians, dancers, dance teachers, students and art lovers with all the invitees received warmly and led to their seats. It was a unique evening in the saga of arangetrams held in London for many reasons. Selvi Veshanthini Ravindran's debut began with the invocation of divine blessing by Sri Naganatha Kurukkal of East Ham Murugan Temple.

The Chief Guest, Dr. Alessandra Iyer, a research fellow of the University of London who is deeply immersed in the study of Indian sculptures and dance forms, was a most appropriate choice for this debut evening. The programme was ably compered by Dr. Indrakumar, the dancer's uncle, along with her sister, ten-year-old Vinothini who stole the hearts of those in the audience with her presentation of the items.

Vijayambigai Indrakumar, the guru, enstaged her nine-year-old niece, Veshanthini who on this occasion performed ten different items in Bharata Natyam and Kuchchipudi. The guru not only rendered the natuvangam but also was the choreographer of most of the pieces for Veshanthini that evening. In the words of the Chief Guest, the 'best of the dancer was brought out by the able and excellent choreography of the guru who chose the right pieces and presented them in the best order'.

Among the highlights of the evening was the participation of the vocalist, Kalai Mamani Madurai T. Sethuraman who had specially come from Madras for this performance. Hailed as one of the best singers in India for Bharata Natyam concerts, he has sung for well known dancers like Kamala Lakshman, Hema Malini and Chitra Visweshwaran, just to name a few.

In Selvi Veshanthini's concert, he sang in his most majestic style providing the kind of music that inspired the little dancer to spontaneously interact to his singing. The rest of the orchestra formed by Sri R. Sureshkumar from Madras (mridangam), Thiruvarur Sri L. Gothandapani (violin) and Sri K. Jananayagam (flute) blended beautifully to provide lively back-up music.

The dancer herself won the plaudits and appreciation of the audience with her excellent display of knowledge of this art form, ability, agility, abhinaya and laya. She was hailed as a prodigy by many who witnessed her performance. There were even some who commented that the guru must be fortunate to have such an able pupil. Young Veshanthini like many other child artistes seemed to drive home the point that the mind is ageless as opposed to the chronological age of the body.

The chief item of the evening was the Varnam, 'Nee Inda Mayam' in the Kaapi raga portraying the story of a young devoted lover of Lord Muruga longing for him. The several incidents depicted in the piece that lasted nearly half an hour was most exquisitely done expressing by abhinaya and facial expressions the different emotional contents of the highly complex piece.

The singers and the musicians were equal to the task and the whole item was executed with tremendous inspiration. The Kuchchipudi items 'Sockanatha Kavuthuvam' and 'Swara Jathi' were also performed in rhythmic splendour.

The young artiste showed her rare ability when she did the Tharangam, one of the toughest pieces in Kuchchipudi. She amazed the audience dancing on the edge of a brass plate, balancing on either hands lighted brass plates and on the head a lighted brass pot. It was a feat that would have been extremely difficult for many an older dancer but Veshanthini went through the number with great precision and expertise.

The delightful evening came to a close with an excellent commendation by the Chief Guest and also an appreciation by Mathoor Krishnamoorthi, the executive director of the Bhavan. Those of us who were invited for the evening felt very privileged to have been there for this lovely feast of music, dancing and the artistry that goes with these.

Dr. S. Navaratnam.

Kalabhavanam Fine Arts Sabha

Carnatic music and Bharata Natyam performances may be common in the London scene, but a purposeful presentation by a discerning group of rasikas under the name of KALABHAVANAM in the Croydon area on 28th June last at the South Norwood Centre was unique, as the chief guest, Mr. A.T.S. Rathasingham, Wimbledon Ganapathy Temple Chief Coordinator put it, 'the Tamil residents of Croydon should be admired for their awareness of high cultural values and perfection in their endeavours'.

It was their inaugural programme which consisted of a vocal recital by **Smt. Manorama Krishna Prasad** *of Bangalore and Bharat Natyam by* **Malarvilli Karunanithy** *and* **Anusha Varathalingam,** *disciples of* **Smt. Padmini Gunaseelan.** *The brilliant recital by Manorama reflected her erudition, expert training and superb control of sruti and layam. The choice of composers and the variety in ragas added a new dimension to the concert. The accompanists Tiruvarur Kothandapani on the violin Muthu Sivaraja on the mridangam, Angelo Kumaradasan on the Ghatam and Chidambaranathan on the Morsang gave equal support.*

Anusha and Malarvilli

The Bharata Natyam programme consisted of the usual Margam and the performers executed their parts with perfect movements and abhinayam. Padmini's nattuvangam exhibited her thorough grasp of jathis and expert handling of the cymbals. Ambika Thamotharam gave excellent vocal support.

Kalabhavanam promises, according to their brochure, to present not only such quality concerts but also illustrative fine arts programmes like lecture demonstrations, seminars, workshops and exhibitions in the future and establish a fine arts centre for the purpose.

UPASAKA.

Continued from page 21

category. Sritharan successfully evaded the LTTE's attempts to abduct him in September 1990 under the cover of the fresh outbreak of hostilities with the Sri Lankan forces. Most recent arrests, including Senthan's, have been done secretively, and even close circles are unaware of them.

The brutal and dehumanising conditions of the LTTE's prisoners who are also denied ICRC access have become widely known. Senthan's health is delicate and he was undergoing treatment for asthma, high blood pressure and arthritis.

The UTHR (Jaffna) requests his colleagues and friends to raise the matter as effectively as they can.

University Teachers for Human Rights, (Jaffna)

Jaffna,
20 June 1992.

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MATRIMONIAL

Jaffna Hindu *seeks partner for his pretty sister, 41, residing in London. Send horoscope, details. M 601 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu mother *seeks groom for pretty daughter, 27, resident Norway. Send horoscope details. M 602 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu *seeks bride for her son, 39, UK permanently settled, well employed, can settle down USA. Send details, horoscope, preferably photo. M 603 c/o Tamil Times.*

Christian Tamil parents *seek groom of similar status for daughter, 36, 5'4", professional accountant working in London. Send details, photo please. M 604 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek groom over 34 for daughter, attractive, British citizen, well educated, government professional employee. Contact with details. M 605 c/o Tamil Times.*

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couple on their recent wedding.

Balendran *son of the late Balasingham and Mrs. P. Balasingham of 18/6B Hampden Lane, Colombo 6 and* **Anushia** *daughter of Mr. & Mrs. C. Balendra, 'Easwari Vasa', Uyarapulam, Anaicoddai, Jaffna on 28.6.92 at Sri Balaji Temple, 1600 Las Virgenes Canyon Road. Calabasas, California, USA.*

BIRTHDAY WISHES

Jannani Mahendran. *Jannani, daughter of Mahendran and Sivanee celebrates her first birthday on 14th August 1992. All her relatives wish her a happy birthday – 29 Shalimar Gardens, Acton, London W3*

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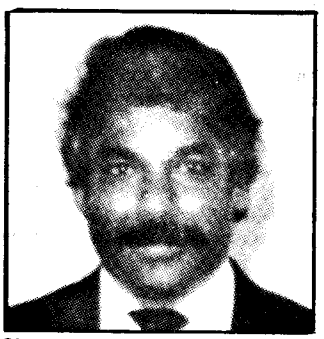
Mr. Chinnathamby Jayasingh, *Retired Director of Works, Ministry of Irrigation, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of late Saraswathy; father of Bremawathy, Nithiyavathy, Jayaseelan and Renukavathy; father-in-law of Dr. Mahendran, Elizabeth and Baskaran; grandfather of Geethanjaly, Sri Ram, Siva Ram, Nagulini, Anandan, Sanoj and Dhylan expired on 17th April 1992. Funeral took place at 18 Chetty Street, Nallur, Jaffna.- 3 Shrewsbury Avenue, Kenton, Middlesex HA3 9LX, UK Tel: 081-204 0870.*



Mr. Sivaguru Mahadevan, *(45), Resident Engineer, Hampshire County Council, U.K., youngest son of the late Mr. Sinnacuddy Sivaguru and Mrs. Selvapakiam Sivaguru of Urumpirai, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of Jayanthi; loving father of Kalaivani, Gajan and Haran; brother of Mrs. Jeyeswary Narendra, Pathmanaban (both of Sri Lanka), Mrs. Vimaladevi Sriskantha (U.K.) and Dr. Ganeshan (Hong Kong) passed away suddenly while at work on 5th June 1992 and was cremated at Southampton on 11th June. He endeared himself to his friends and relatives and has left behind with justifiable pride several complex highway projects as monuments of his expertise and competence. His family sincerely thank all friends and relatives who helped in the funeral arrangements and in several other ways during the period of bereavement. They regret their inability to thank them individually. – 31 Tamarisk Gardens, Bittern Park, Southampton, SO2 4RA. Tel: 0703 554681.*

Mrs. Ponnamma Kandavanam, *beloved wife of the late Mr. Kandavanam, Malayan Pensioner, Maviddapuram, Sri Lanka; loving mother of Thirupathy, Thanapathy (Teacher, Mahajana College, Tellipalai), Pathma (U.K.), Sivapakiam and late Sivasundaram; mother-in-law of Nadarajah (Retired Technical Officer of Irrigation), Balasubramaniam (Manager, Regal Theatre, Colombo), Dr. Thangarajah (U.K.), Nagaratnam (Superintendent, Pundu-loya) and Tharmarani; loving grandmother of Mrs. Kumuthini Gnanakumaran, Mrs. Suganthini Navendhra, Shanthini (all of U.K.), Amuthini, Jeyanthini; Thasintha (U.K.), Shantha, Jamuna; Anula, Nalina, Thayalini; Sivandevi, Sivakumar (Switzerland), Sivaselvan, Sivaselvi and Sivathasan passed away in Sri Lanka on 23.6.92 and was cremated on 25th June. Sadly missed and mourned by all her loved ones, friends and relatives. May her soul rest in peace – 57B Days Lane, Biddenham, Beds., U.K. Tel: (0234) 346090.*

Pandit P.S. Gnanapragasam *(80), Retired Principal of Schools, Mirusuvil, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of Jeyaranee; father of Jeyapragasam (U.K.), Selvarani (Canada), Thavapragasam (Illavalai, Sri Lanka), Mathurarani (Australia), Thiyagarani (U.K.), Yogarani (Mirusuvil), Sister Pavalarani (Batticaloa), Kulapragasam (Canada), Punitharani (York), Justina (Australia), Vimalarani, Madona (both of U.K.); father-in-law of Kili (U.K.), Anandaraja (Canada), Mathuranayaki (Illavalai), Xavier (Australia), Thevaratnam (U.K.), Alexander (Mirusuvil), Rita (Canada), Pararajasingham (York), Ronald (Australia), Mariyathas (Mirusuvil), and Gerard (Paris); grandfather and great grandfather of several children passed away in U.K. On 23.5.92 and the 31st day was observed on 22nd June at 126 Altmore Avenue, East Ham, London E6 – 204 Browning Road, London E12. Tel: 081-472 8132.*

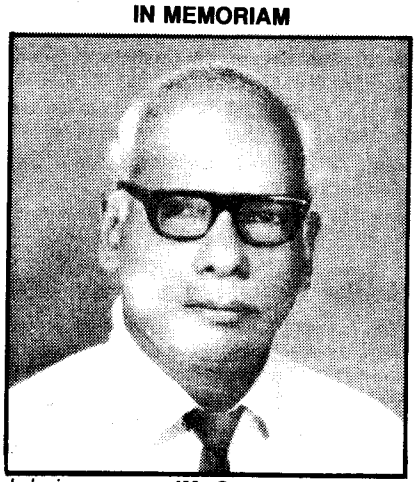
Mrs. Sivapackiam (Thangammah) Thambirajah, *beloved wife of the late Annamalai Thambirajah of Kokuvil; mother of Nadarajah-Naysun (USA), former Lieutenant Commander, Sri Lankan Navy, Mangayatkarasi, teacher, Leelawathi (both of Sri Lanka), Kirupananthan, Yogarajah and Sarojini Thevy (all of U.K.); mother-in-law of Rajeswari, Manickavasagar, Ganeshamoorthy, Uma, Chandravathani and Perinpanathan passed away peacefully in Colombo on 16th July 1992 and was cremated on 19th July. Sadly missed by her loved ones and friends. – 214 Demesne Road, Wallington, Surrey SM6 8EN. Tel: 081-395 8013.*

OBITUARY ANNOUNCEMENT

It is with deep sadness that the death is announced of Mr. J. Thambipillai (former teacher at Union College Tellippalai and Port Harcourt, Nigeria) husband of Sornadevi (Kaanji) and father of Terry and Harry on 6 July 1992 at Colpetty, Sri Lanka.

A Memorial Service will be held on Saturday, 8 August, 1992 at the Kings Hall Methodist Church, South Road, Southall, Middlesex at 6.30pm which will be followed by Dinner at the church hall. All friends, relations and old students of Union College Tellippalai are please requested to take note.– S. Thambipillai (Mrs.), 37 Wendover Court, Western Avenue, London W3 0TG. Tel: 081-993 3772.

IN MEMORIAM



In loving memory of **Mr. Sampanther Cumaraswamy** *on the first anniversary of his passing away on 7th July 1991.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his wife Rasaletchumy; his children Vamadeva, Rajeswary (Thevi), Mahadeva, Jayadeva, Karunasaladeva, Thevaky and Vasudeva; his sons-in-law Selvaratnam, Jogaraja; his daughters-in-law Malathy, Ranjini (Susie), Thevaky, Lojana and Sivasoruby; his grand children Sarita, Janan, Theepan, Kanthan, Kishan, Luckshmi, Poorani, Kokulan and Ahalya.– 22 Calder Gardens, Edgware, Middx. HA8 5PT.

In loving memory of **Mrs. Mankay Sivasampu** *on the second anniversary of her passing away on 2.8.90.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by her two sons. – 15 Wolsey Way, Chessington, Surrey KT9 1XQ.

In loving memory of **Herbert Rasiah Kanagarajah** *on the first anniversary of his passing away to glory on 25.7.91.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his loving wife Mani; children Dhayanthi, Vasanthi, Mohan and Suhanthi; son-in-law Devakumar; grandchild Rebecca and sisters Selvaranee, Amirtharanee and Thevaranee – 31 Donald Street, Blackburn South, Melbourne, Victoria 3130, Australia.

An Appreciation

Navaratnam Saravanapavananthan, Professor of Forensic Medicine, *University of Jaffna, died on 24 June. The funeral took place on Sunday 28 June 1992.*

'N. Saravanapavananthan, Professor of Forensic Medicine, Jaffna, is one of those souls as unbending as his native palmyrah. He can be trusted never to compromise his professional judgement' wrote four teachers of the University of Jaffna – among whom was the late Rajani Thiranagama – in their book 'The Broken Palmyrah' – The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka – An Inside Account. Professor Sara's extensive judicial work and commitment to teaching took place in very trying times for Jaffna when he functioned with dignity and integrity.

After graduating from Medical College in 1961 his interest in Forensic Medicine and aptitude for teaching took him to the University of Peradeniya as lecturer. He obtained his Diploma in Medical Jurisprudence and his M.R.C.P. in the U.K. in 1968, and was Lecturer at Leeds. In Colombo from 1974 to 1978 he was first Deputy and, later, Acting JMO. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

When the University of Jaffna was set up he became Senior Lecturer in Forensic Medicine and in 1982 was appointed Professor. This appointment was considered by him to be the peak of his career. He was a tower of strength to a University that was struggling for its survival and he resisted attempts by foreign institutions to lure him away. His loss was felt so acutely by the students that they immeditely gathered together in a vigil of prayer.

Professor Sara has many publications to his credit and presented papers at several international conferences. In recognition of his contributions to Forensic Sciences worldwide he received an Award of Merit at the first World Meeting of Police Surgeons and Medical Officers in Wichita U.S.A in August 1987. He is the author of a text book entitled Medico – Legal Aspects of Injuries.

He was an enthusiast for social commitment and through the Lions Club worked for the good of the community. His family being steeped in Hindu tradition he was involved in the many activities of Hindu Temples in Jaffna.

At his funeral, orations were made in tribute. Those who spoke of their respect and affection were Retired High Court Judge Cecil Gunawardena, Former Postal Minister, Mr. C. Kumarasuriyar, Professor Sivagnanasundaram, and Professor Sivathamby.

Professor Sara's death at 58 years is a very great loss to Srilanka and especially to the Tamil Community.

Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam An Appreciation

BORN 20.5.1928 DIED 24.6.1992

During the early hours of Wednesday, 24th June 1992, the devastating news of the death of Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam under tragic circumstances, reached us with a jarring shock.

Born on the **20th May 1928,** *Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam was hailed as the 6th direct shishyaparampara of Saint Thyagaraja; his illustrious father and guru, the late Sri Maharajapuram Viswanathaiyer, being the fifth.*

Having had his primary education at Kumbakonam, Sri Santhanam obtained a firm foundation of Carnatic music from Melathoor Shyama Dikshitar and later continued under his father Sri Maharajapuram Viswanathaiyer, in the traditional style.

Since his debut at the age of 20 years in Calcutta, Maharajapuram Santhanam engaged himself in developing his latent talents which were identified by the authorities of the Ramanathan Music Academy (Jaffna, Sri Lanka) and he was appointed as its Principal in 1960.

During his tenure of six years in this prestigious capacity he produced many talented musicians and earned many fans and friends, many of whom are in the U.K. appreciating his unique talents.

Continued on page 28

Continued from page 27

Of the many eminent musicians in India, the one who climbed up to the top grade during the past decade was Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam. 'Maharajapuram tradition' is well worth naming his style of south Indian music. Apart from the highly acclaimed style of raga Mohana, Sri Santhanam created his unique style of thillanas in ragas Revathi, Sivaranjani, Charukesi and Brindavanasaranga. 'The superstar of south Indian music' is no exaggeration of his achievements.

Endowed with a fine feeling for melody and gifted with a mellifluous voice which has range, manoeuvreability and depth, there was practically nothing that his voice could not reach. His imagination was free and varied. A master in the delineation of ragas he had many thrilling moments for the audience with his inimitable modulation of tone. His rich and resonant voice and intensity of devotional fervour had endeared Santhanam to lovers of Carnatic music.

He was the centre of attraction in all the State functions in India, including the many at the office of the Presidents of India, in the recent past.

He earned more than ten prestigious titles of which 'Sangeethe Kalanidhi' was the one he most revered. Also, 'Asthana Vidwan' (Thirumala Thirupathi Dhevasthanam, Kanchi Kamakoti Peedam and Sri Venkateswara temple U.S.A.), 'Sangitha Sahara Samrajya Maharaj' (by the British Association of Young Musicians) 'Sangitha Boopathi' (by Meikandar Atheenam, London) are a few he liked most.

Sri Santhanam was one who made an enormous contribution to contemporary classical music in Tamil. His favourite compositions include those of Mahakavi Subramania Bharatiyar, Yazhpanam Veeramani Iyer and Papanasam Sivan. In recognition of his contribution the Tamil Nadu Government conferred the title 'Isai Perarigner' on 21st December 1991.

Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam encouraged all young and upcoming musicians in whatever way possible, especially through the Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer Trust by way of offering scholarships, special titles etc. The British Association of Young Musicians of which he was the Patron-in-chief was encouraged tremendously in sustenance of Carnatic music and symbiotic development of this celestial art of Indian classical music among the British communities.

His stentorian voice. . .his sense of lilting tonal modulation, his ornamental swara technique. . .his emphasis on the lyrical aspect and many of such unique qualities shall remain in his innumerable audio cassettes and C.D.s. Sri Maharajapuram Santhanam is survived by his daughter Brindha, his sons Srinivasan and Ramachandran, two grandsons and four grand daughters.

Dr. P. Ambikapathy.

Rehabilitation of Tamil Homelands

Professor A. Thurairajah, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jaffna visited Tromso in Norway in April and had discussions with the University of Tromso and reached an understanding regarding Research Co-operation, Exchange of Scholars and Material Support. Fisheries was given top priority and an action committee was formed.

During Professor Thurairajah's visit, the Tamil Association of Tromso, Tamil Academics and Students Network in North Norway and Tamil Development Network of Norway had discussions regarding Rehabilitation and Development of Tamil Homelands and it was decided that grassroots organisations would be helped and that Tromso Tamil Organisation will collect Rs. 50,000 before the end of 1992 and Prof. Thurairajah will assist in finding a suitable project. It was also decided that the Tamil Association of Tromso will collect one million Sri Lanka rupees from the Tamils of Norway, buy an off set printing machine and present it to the University of Jaffna.

Senior Tamils Centre, Ontario, Canada

The Annual Genral Meeting of the Senior Tamils Centre, Ontario, was held on 9.5.92 at the Oriole C.R.S. Don Mills, Ontario. The following were elected office bearers and Board members. President: Aloy Ratnasingham. Vice President: Kanagambikai Ragunathan. Secretary: A.R. Alexander. Treasurer: M. Velauthapillai. Board Members: Fred Balasingham, C. Kanagalingam, Mani Pathmarajah, Siva Sivaramalingam, T. Manickavasagar, Soloman Rajanayagam, Maheswari Vivekanandarajah. Hony. Auditor: V. Eeswara Nathan.

Siva Sivaramalingam was absent when the above group photo was taken.

The 'Mennonite Country' in and around St. Jacob and Elmira was selected for the Annual Excursion cum Picnic fixed for 8th August 1992.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Aug. 1 *7.00pm Vocal Recital by* **Nageswari Bramananda** *at London Sri Murugan Temple, 78 Church Street, Manor Park, London E12. Tel: 081-478 8433.*

Aug. 2 *10.30am Medical Institute of Tamils conducts a* **Knock-out Cricket Tournament** *of teams in Essex and Kent at Runwell Hospital Grounds, Runwell, Wickford, Essex. For details Tel: 0702 73809.*

Aug. 2 *Chathurthi.*

Aug. 5. *Suntharamoorthy Nayanar Gurupoojah.*

Aug. 7 *Varalaxmy Viratham.*

Aug. 9 *Ekaathasi.*

Aug. 10 *Pirathosa Viratham.*

Aug. 13 *Full Moon.*

Aug. 15 *2.00pm Cricket Match between* **Old Wesleyites** *and* **Old Thomians** *at West Harrow Recreation Grounds, Wilson Gardens, West Harrow, Middx. Tel: 081-422 7251 (Ram) 6.30pm Carnatic Vocal Recital by* **Sangeetha Vidwan Smt Priyadharshana Yogarajah** *accompanied by* **Dr. Lakshmi Jayan** *– Violin,* **Jason & Jonathan Pararajasingham** *– Mridangam, Bangalore Pragash – Gadam at Wembley High School Hall, East Lane, Wembley, Middx. Tel: 081 205 8214.*

Aug. 24 *Ekaathasi.*

Aug. 25 *Pirathosa Viratham.*

Aug. 27 *Amaavaasai.*

Aug. 28 *7.30pm Carnatic Violin Recital by* **Arvind Jayan** *at London Sri Murugan Temple, 78 Church Street, Manor Park, London E12. Tel: 081- 478 8433/204 3162.*

Aug. 31 *Vinayaka Chathurthi.*

August 31 *10.00am Jaffna Schools Sports Association U.K. hold Cricket Festival, 7-a-side, limited overs, knock-out tournament of Old Boys' teams at John Billam Sports Ground, Woodcock Hill, Harrow, Middx. For details Tel: 081-952 7293.*

At Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071 381 3086/4608.

Aug. 1, 15, 29 *5.30pm Mahabharata Lecture by* **Mathoor Krishnamurti.** *All welcome.*

Aug. 14 *7.30pm Indian Independence Day Celebrations. All welcome.*

Aug. 15 *6.30pm Summer School Finale of Music & Dance. All welcome.*

Natha Vidyalaya Awards 1991

The following students of Natha Vidyalaya were awarded gold medals and certificates on the results of an examination held to test their attainments in Violin.

Miss Thuvaraka Vetpillai, Miss Vithya Indrakumar, Miss Bhayiravi Ganeswaran, Miss Gayathri Kathirgamanathan.

The examinations were held by a board consisting of two foreign examiners and a local musician of repute. The picture below shows Miss Thuvaraka Vetpillai receiving her certificate from Miss Eileen Bell of the Royal College of Music.

Sangeetha Vidwan Kalaivani Indrakumar is the directress of the Natha Vidyalaya which since 1986 has produced several musicians and held many recitals.

Past Copies of Tamil Times

Past copies of Tamil Times are available for sale in 10 volumes, the present series being volume 11. The price of each volume is £20 by surface mail.

Those interested are requested to send a cheque/draft/M.O. in favour of Tamil Times Ltd., for £20 for each volume to:

The Circulation Manager, Tamil Times Ltd., P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, U.K.

The price for each volume in other currencies is: U.S.$40.00/Can.$47.00/Aus.$54.00.

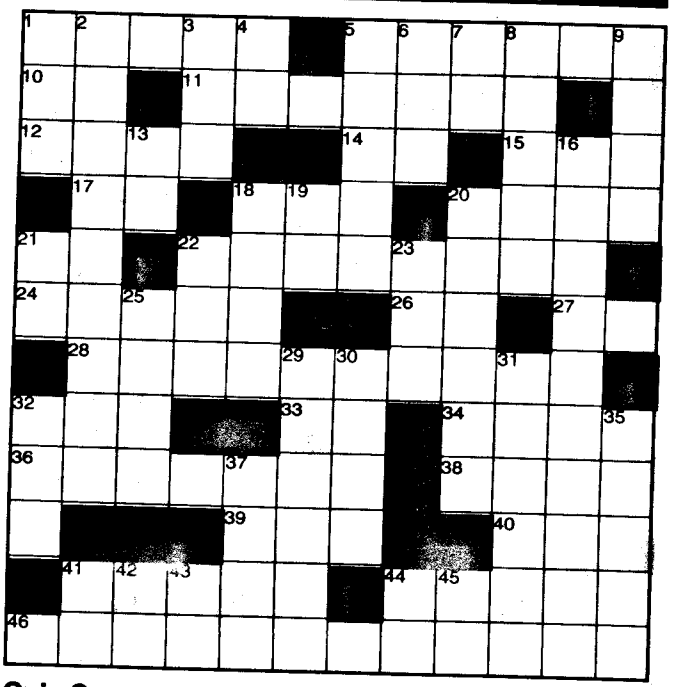
QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 18. Compiled by: Richards

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 31 August 1992.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the September 1992 issue.

The winner will receive a prize of £10.00 sterling.

All entries should be sent to: Tamil Times, P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, UK.



Across.

1. Treacherous king in Greek legend punished by Zeus for boasting about winning the favours of his wife, Hera (5)
5. Greek poet whose 'Works and Days' deals with moral values of honest life (6)
10. Chemical symbol for sodium (2)
11. A sign or an indication (11)
12. This deep means to be deeply involved (4)
14. 'A name I call myself' – remember Sound of Music! (2)
15. Tennis player's mighty serving weapon (3)
17. When prefixed to 'go', a West African state (2)
18. Edgar Allan the American short-story writer and poet (3)
20. Break suddenly with a cracking sound (4)
21. Uttered in surprise or even in pain (2)
22. Greek philosopher who called himself the 'midwife of men's thoughts' (8)
24. A king in Greek legend whose touch turned any object into gold and all that followed him was sheer misery (5)
26. Depart (2)
27. His Excellency (2)
28. Greek mathematician popularly associated with a theorem and one who believed that the universe was earth-centred (10)
32. The hot wells near Trincomalee is such a place (3)
33. When prefixed to 'ga' a member of a race of semi-divine creatures, half-snake and half-human (2)
34. In Roman legend a lover who pined for her loved one until only her voice remained (4)
36. In Greek legend a Thebian prince who killed his father and married his mother. His name is associated with a complex manifestation in respect of child-parent relationship (7)
38. A particular breed of owl (4)
39. Cleopatra's deadly ally in her suicide bid (3)
40. Female sheep (3)
41. Merriment and laughter (5)
44. A malignant or treacherous person likened to an under grass creeping terror (5)
46. A rich collection of Indian legends mostly animal tales with a moral message (12)

Down:

1. Black liquid ejected by cuttlefish (3)
2. Bad-tempered wife of a Greek philosopher who rendered her name proverbial for a conjugal scold (9)
3. A British royal honours title of recognition (3)
4. Directionwise Mullaitivu in Sri Lanka, briefly (3)
5. The author of the Greek epics Iliad and the Odyssey (5)
6. Support with difficulty (3)
7. Directionwise region below Pottuvil and above Yala in Sri Lanka (2)
8. Senseless, empty and void (5)
9. Intense, vivid and extreme (4)
13. Ex-officio, briefly (2)
16. Blessings for a bride can be expressed thus by close relatives and friends (4,7)
18. High-class and smart (4)
19. Officer Commanding, abb. (2)
20. Usually a term used for warehouses (6)
21. Mystic symbol that denotes the origin of movement in Hinduism (2)
22. Short Saturday (3)
23. In the past (3)
25. Duality – the Gemini complex is one (4)
29. Lovely name of an Indian lass (5)
30. Convulsive catching of the breath (4)
31. Regard favourably (6)
32. Adult female pig (3)
35. Music an essential part of this dramatic performance (5)
37. A course of action (4)
41. Mother affectionately (2)
42. Not out (2)
43. Denotes Roman Catholic (2)
44. Briefly a US state in the neighbourhood of Washington DC (2)
45. Expresses inclusion within a certain limit which could be time, space, circumstances and even surroundings (2)

Quiz Crosswords – 16: Solutions.

Across: 1. Om. 3. Annapurna, 11. Banda. 13. Bopeep. 14. Dreamers. 16. BP. 17. Urim. 18. Quechua. 21. Rigs. 22. UP. 23. Roll. 24. Aehp. 25. At. 26. OA. 27. TD. 28. Eft. 31. TUC. 32. Maroon. 33. Ash. 34. Locker. 36. Dux. 38. YTC. 39. Sigiriya. 41. Scalage. 42. School. 43. Nests.

Down: 1. Obdurately. 2. Married. 3. Adams Peak. 4. NAM. 5. Abrupt. 6. Pose. 7 UP. 8. Re. 9. Nebulous. 10. Appalachians. 12. Neigh. 15. Equatorial. 19. Cry. 20. Ho. 29. Fresco. 30. Indian. 31. Taxies. 32. MCC. 35. Otic. 37. Urge. 40. GL. 41. So.

Winner: Mr. Yogesh C. Ratnasabapathy, 65 Hawarden Hill, Dollis Hill Lane, London NW2 7BR.

Maths Genius Ganesh

13-year-old **Ganesh,** *son of Arjuna and Nela Sittampalam of Bromfield Road, Surbiton, Surrey became Britain's youngest graduate after scooping a first class honours in his B.Sc. degree of the Surrey University. This has been achieved with 60 days attendance at the university – one day a week for 2 years during which period he was released by his school, Kings College School, Wimbledon. 'Ganesh is as near a genius as anybody I have ever met' says his Professor, Ron Shail.*

Ganesh entered the record books when he passed the 11 plus at 8, secured A grade passes in O-Level and A-Level mathematics at 8 and 9 respectively and now the 1st class maths degree at 13.

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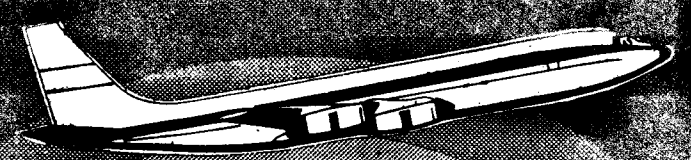

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1992

DATE : Saturday, 15th August 1992
TIME : 5.30 PM
VENUE : Holiday Inn
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Ditton Road
Langley
Slough
Berks.
SL3 8PT

Nominations for Office Bearers for the following Posts close on 8th August 1992:

1) President
2) Vice Presidents (2 Posts)
3) Secretary
4) Assistant Secretary
5) Treasurer
6) Social Secretary
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